Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents

Monday, November 8, 2004
Volume 40—Number 45
Pages 2689–2806

Contents

Addresses and Remarks

Al Jazeera videotape of Usama bin Laden—2695
Cabinet meeting—2784
Florida
Remarks in Gainesville—2737
Remarks in Miami—2727
Remarks in Orlando—2721
Remarks in Tampa—2732
Iowa
Remarks in Des Moines—2763
Remarks in Sioux City—2768
Michigan, remarks in Grand Rapids—2701
Minnesota, remarks in Minneapolis—2715
New Mexico, remarks in Albuquerque—2773
Ohio
Campaign volunteers in Columbus—2782
Departure from Toledo—2695
Remarks in Cincinnati—2742
Remarks in Columbus—2695
Remarks in Toledo—2689
Remarks in Wilmington—2747
Pennsylvania
Arrival in Pittsburgh—2752
Remarks in Burgettstown—2752
Radio address—2707
Texas
Election day in Crawford—2781

Addresses and Remarks—Continued

Remarks in Dallas—2778
Victory celebration—2783
Wisconsin
Remarks in Ashwaubenon—2708
Remarks in Milwaukee—2758

Bill Signings

Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005, statement—2695

Communications to Congress

Sudan, letter on continuation of the national emergency—2773
U.S. Combat-Equipped Armed Forces, letter reporting on global deployments—2800
Weapons of mass destruction, letter on continuation of emergency—2799

Interviews With the News Media

Exchanges with reporters
Columbus, OH—2782
Crawford, TX—2781
News conference, November 4—2784

(Continued on the inside of the back cover.)

Editor's Note: The President was at Camp David, MD, on November 5, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for $80.00 per year ($137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for $93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is $3.00 ($3.75 for foreign mailing).

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is also available on the Internet on the *GPO Access* service at http://www.gpo.gov/nara/nara003.html.

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Remarks in Toledo, Ohio

October 29, 2004

The President. Laura and I are so honored so many came out to say hello. We appreciate it very much. I'm honored—we thank you for taking time out of your day.

I've got something to tell you. I'm traveling Ohio a lot. I'm asking for the vote, and I'm asking for your help. We have a duty in this country to vote. You may have heard, the election is right around the corner. [*Laughter*] And I'm asking you, get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls. Make sure our fellow Republicans vote. Make sure independents vote. Find some discerning Democrats, and there's a lot across the State of Ohio. And get them headed to the polls and remind them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

One of the most important reasons why I think you ought to put me back into office is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Laura! Laura! Laura!

The President. I don't want to offend anybody who is follically challenged, but I admit my great Vice President doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] The people of Toledo will be proud to know that I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his judgment, his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I want to thank Senator Mike DeWine for joining us today. I'm proud to call him friend. You're proud to call him Senator. I urge you to put George Voinovich back in the United States Senate. I want to thank your Governor for joining us. I want to thank Paul Gillmor, Congressman Paul Gillmor, for being here today. I want to thank Betty Montgomery for joining us. And I want to thank the next Congressman from the Ninth Congressional District, Larry Kaczala, for joining us.

I want to thank the Wil Gravatt Band. I want to thank the Anthony Wayne High Marching Generals for being here. I will try to keep my speech short so you can get home and do your homework.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I want to thank the grassroots activists. I want to thank my friend Bernadette Noe and Tom Noe for their leadership in Lucas County. I remember our breakfast. She had me flipping pancakes. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank those of you who are putting up the signs and making the phone calls. I want to thank those of you who are working long hours. We're almost there. Election Day is almost here. I urge you to continue working to turn out that vote. With your help, we'll win Ohio again and win a great victory.

We've just got 4 days to go, and the voters have a clear choice between two very different candidates and different approaches and different records. You know where I stand, and sometimes, you even know where my opponent stands. [*Laughter*] We both have records. I'm proudly running on mine. My opponent has an interesting idea of how to win friends. During this campaign, he's insulted our allies and he questioned the good work of our troops in combat.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Earlier today, my opponent even insulted the American people, saying you need to, quote, "wake up."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, the American people are awake. Their eyes are wide open. They are seeing more clearly every day the critical choices in this election: The Senator's failed, out-of-the-mainstream policies or my commitment to defend our country, to build our economy, and to uphold our bedrock values.

This election comes down to some clear choices, five clear choices for America's family. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. This will be the first Presidential election since September the 11th, 2001. Americans will go to the polls in a time of war and ongoing threats unlike any we have faced before. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous, and they are determined.

The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubling times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, we've fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We're strengthening the protections for our homeland. We're reforming our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming the All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are determined. We are relentless. We are staying on the offensive. We're chasing the terrorists overseas so we do not have to face them here at home.

Because we led, Afghanistan is a free nation and an ally in the war on terror; Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Because we led, Libya is dismantling its weapons programs; the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice. We have led. Many have joined. And America and the world are safer.

And part of our strategy is to spread liberty and peace. I believe in the transformational power of liberty to change societies. I want you to remind your sons and daughters what has taken place in a relatively quick period of time in Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that young girls could not go to school or their mothers were taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes into a sports stadium and killed because of the barbaric vision of the Taliban. Because we acted in our self-interest, because we acted to uphold the doctrine which I laid out that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people—millions of people in Afghanistan voted in a Presidential election. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Free societies will be peaceful societies. Free societies will help us keep the peace. Iraq is going to have elections in January. Think how far that society has come from the days of mass graves and torture chambers. Freedom is on the march. I believe everybody yearns to be free. I believe people long for freedom. I believe this. I understand freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

A President must lead with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics change but not your principles. Americans have seen how I do my job. Even when you might not agree with me, you know what I believe. You know where I stand, and you know where I'm going to lead our Nation. On good days and on bad days, when the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to protect the American people.

And I'll support our troops in harm's way. You know, I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank the military families who sacrifice on behalf of our Nation's freedom. I want to thank the veterans who have set such a great example to those who wear the uniform. And I assure you, we will keep the commitment we have made. Our troops will have what they need to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the Congress and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding in September of 2003. And we received great bipartisan support for this necessary and critical funding. As a matter of fact, the support was so strong that only 12 Members of the United States Senate voted against the funding, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. But let me give you a more startling statistic, one that I would hope you would use as you're gathering up the vote: Four Members of the United States

Senate—only four—voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against the funding necessary to support our troops in combat. Two of those four were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. So they asked him why he made that vote, and you might remember this quote. He said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it." Now, look, I haven't spent all that much time in Toledo, but I doubt I'm going to find many people who talk that way here in Toledo, Ohio.

He has given several answers about why he made the vote. Perhaps the most revealing was when he said, "The whole matter was a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Senator Kerry's record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991 because he had invaded Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that even his Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. [*Laughter*] History shows that Senator Kerry was wrong—and let's be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

During the last 20 years in key moments of challenge and decision for America, Senator Kerry has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt, the party of Harry Truman, the party of John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of war and hours of crisis. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he's replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore. And today, I want to speak to every one of them: If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I'm asking for your vote.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. In this campaign, there are big differences about how to protect America's families. One time in our debate, my opponent said America must submit to what he calls a "global test" before we commit force.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] I heard it. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, that means our country must get permission before we act in our own defense. As President, I'll always work with friends and allies. I'll always build coalitions. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

My opponent says that September the 11th did not change him much at all. And that's clear in his policies. He believes that the war on terror is primarily a law enforcement and intelligence gathering operation. September the 11th changed me. I remember that day when I was at Ground Zero on September the 14th, 2001. I'll never forget the sights. I'll never forget the sounds. I remember the workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the first-responder—I can't remember if he was a firefighter or a policeman—who came out of the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I've gotten

up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families. And I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to $1,000 per child. We want to help the moms and dads of America do their duty. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent. We reduced income taxes for everybody who pays taxes. Real after-tax income is up 10 percent since I've been the President. That's money in your pocket. That's money you can spend.

I want you to remind your friends and neighbors that the stock market was in serious decline 6 months prior to my arrival in Washington. And then we had a recession, and we had some corporate scandals. We passed tough laws. We have made it abundantly clear we will not tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of America.

The attacks of September the 11th cost us nearly a million jobs in the 3 months after that attack. But our economic policies are working. They have led us back to the path of growth and recovery. Our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. Homeownership rates are at an alltime high. Minorities are owning their home at rates greater than ever before in our history. Farm income is up. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. Small businesses are flourishing. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s.

I know people are still struggling here in Ohio. I understand that. I've traveled your State a lot. I've spoken to people. But that doesn't mean we should get away from pro-growth economic policies. Quite the contrary. We need to keep your taxes low. We need to do something about lawsuits. We need to do something about regulatory reform. To keep this economy going, I will empower our small businesses, our consumers, and American families by keeping the taxes low.

Speaking about taxes, my opponent has got some plans for your budget. He's going to take a big chunk out of it. He voted against the higher child tax credit, and he voted against the marriage penalty relief. He voted against lower taxes. If he'd have had his way, the average middle-class family would be paying 2,000 more dollars a year in taxes.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's probably not a lot for some of the folks in Washington. It's a lot for the folks in Toledo, Ohio. That means a lot to the people in this part of the world. That money helps moms and dads. It helps our families.

You know, he's been in the United States Senate for 20 years, and he's voted to raise taxes 98 times. That's five times for every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern—[*laughter*]—a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] When a Senator does something that often, he really must like it. [*Laughter*] And he's proposed $2.2 trillion in new spending. That is trillion with a "T." That's a lot. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*]

So they asked him how he's going to pay for it. He said, well, he's going to tax the rich. You know, by raising the top two brackets, you're taxing small-business creators. Most small businesses pay tax at the individual income-tax rate. Seventy percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses. It makes no sense to tax the job creators in America. Running up the tax is lousy economic policy.

Let me tell you what else is wrong, and you need to tell this to your friends and neighbors. He's proposed 2.2 trillion in new spending, but when you raise the top two brackets, you only raise between 600 and 800 billion. So there's a gap. I would like to call it a tax gap, a gap between what he's promised and what he can pay. And guess who usually fills the tax gap.

Audience member. We do!

The President. You do. The good news is, we're not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Ohio and win on November the 2d.

The third clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our families. A good education and quality health care are important to a successful life. As a candidate, I pledged to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. We passed strong education reforms in Washington. We're increasing spending, particularly for low-income students. But in return for increased spending, we're now asking whether or not a child can read or write and add and subtract. See, we realize—or we think every child can learn, and we expect every school to teach.

You cannot solve a problem unless you diagnose the problem, and we are diagnosing and solving problems all across America. Our test scores in reading and math are up. We are closing a achievement gap for minority students all across America. And we're not going to go back to the old days of mediocrity and low expectations in our Nation's schoolrooms.

We will continue to work to make sure health care is available and affordable. We'll make sure health care is available by expanding community health centers so the poor and the indigent can get good primary and preventative care in places other than your emergency rooms. We're going to make sure that children of low-income families are subscribed to our health programs. We want to make sure people get health care in America that can't afford it. We also want to make sure it's affordable. Most of the uninsured work for small businesses. Small businesses ought to be allowed to join together, to spread risk, so they can buy insurance at the same discount that big companies are able to do.

We will expand health savings accounts, which will help our families and our small businesses. And to make sure health care is available and affordable in this good State, we will do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of health care and running doctors out of business.

I was campaigning in Canton the other day, and I met two docs who are no longer practicing medicine because their premiums got so high because of the lawsuits. I have met too many ob-gyns who are leaving practice because of the lawsuits. And I have met too many young expectant moms who are concerned about their health care because they don't have a doc close by. And that's not right for America. This is a national problem that requires a national solution. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. My opponent has made his choice. He voted against medical liability reform 10 times in the Senate, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors of Ohio. I'm standing with the patients of Ohio. I'm standing with the families of Ohio. I'm for medical liability reform.

My opponent has got a different point of view when it comes to health care. You might remember one of the debates when they asked him about his health care plan, and he said, with a straight face, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people would be signed up to a Government program under his vision. When you make it easier for people to sign up for Medicaid, it means the small-business owners will stop writing insurance for their employees because the Government is going to. That moves people from the private sector to the public sector. Now, when the Government starts writing the checks when it comes to health care, they start making the rules when it comes to health care. And when they start making the rules when it comes to health care, they start making the decisions for you when it comes to health care and they make decisions for your doctors when it comes to health care. The wrong prescription for American families is to federalize health care.

In all we do to improve health care for our families, we'll make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep

that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drugs. I kept my word.

We got the job done for our seniors. Medicare needed to be modernized. Medicare would pay thousands of dollars for a heart surgery but not one dime for the prescription drugs that might prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That didn't make any sense to people on Medicare. And so I brought Republicans together and Democrats together. I signed a Medicare law. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare. And we will keep our promise of Social Security for our seniors. And we'll strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

Now, you might remember the 2000 campaign, when they were running the ads and the fliers and the mailers that said, "If George W. gets elected, our seniors will not get their checks." Well, as you gather up the vote, please remind your friends and neighbors that George W. did get elected, and the seniors got their checks. And the seniors will continue to get their checks. And baby boomers like me and a couple other people I see out there, we'll get our checks.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether the Social Security system will be there when they need it. And that's why I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, a personal savings account that will earn a better rate of return, a personal savings account they call their own, a personal savings account the Government cannot take away.

My opponent's taken a different approach on this issue. He said he's going to protect Social Security. I want you to remind your friends and neighbors that he has voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

And when it comes to the young generation, he's offered nothing. The job of a President is to confront problems, not pass them on to future generations and future Presidents. In a new term, I'll bring people together and make sure the Social Security system is strong for generations to come.

The fifth clear choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I will promote a culture of life, and I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion.

My opponent's taken a different point of view. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And at one time in this campaign, he actually said the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Most families do not look to Hollywood as a source of values. The heart and soul of America is found in caring communities like Toledo, Ohio.

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. The security and prosperity of our country are at stake. The health and education for our families and our children are at stake. The direction of our culture is at stake. The decision is in the best of hands. It's in the hands of the American people. It's in your hands.

Our country is a strong country. It is a great country. I see a great day coming for all Americans. One of my favorite quotes is from a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. And he said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." In the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the campaign talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that is coming, a prosperous day, a hopeful day, a compassionate day, and a day when we can achieve the peace we so long for for our children and our grandchildren.

When I campaigned across Ohio 4 years ago, I made this pledge, that if I was elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

Thanks for coming. God bless. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. at the SeaGate Convention Centre. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Bob Taft and Auditor of State Betty Montgomery of Ohio; Bernadette Restivo Noe, chairman, Lucas County Republican Party, and her husband, Tom; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks on Departure From Toledo

October 29, 2004

Al Jazeera Videotape of Usama bin Laden

Earlier today I was informed of the tape that is now being analyzed by America's intelligence community. Let me make this very clear: Americans will not be intimidated or influenced by an enemy of our country. I'm sure Senator Kerry agrees with this.

I also want to say to the American people that we're at war with these terrorists, and I am confident that we will prevail.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:53 p.m. at Toledo Express Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on Signing the Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005

October 29, 2004

Protecting the American people is my most solemn responsibility, and a superior U.S. military is essential to that effort and to fighting and winning the global war on terrorism. The Defense Authorization Act of 2005 will continue to strengthen our security and ensure that our troops are the best paid, best trained, and best equipped fighting force in the world.

We have increased military pay by over 20 percent since I came into office, and this legislation includes the fourth consecutive pay raise for our service men and women. It funds more protective equipment like body armor and reinforced Humvees to keep our troops as safe as possible.

This bill also continues the transformation of our military and funds the technology and advanced weapons systems we need. And it keeps our commitment to our troops, military retirees, reservists, and their families by ensuring they get the health, housing, and other benefits that they deserve. This bill will help us continue to strengthen our all-volunteer military.

NOTE: H.R. 4200, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 108–375. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks in Columbus, Ohio

October 29, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thanks for coming. Thank you all for being here. Thank you all for coming. Laura and I are honored so many of you came out to say hello. You've lifted our spirits.

I also want to thank Governor Schwarzenegger for coming. It's such an honor to have him here in Columbus and campaigning on my behalf. You know, he and I share some things in common. We both married well. [*Laughter*] We both have trouble speaking the English language. [*Laughter*] We both got big biceps. [*Laughter*] Well, two out of three ain't bad. [*Laughter*]

It's great to be back in Columbus. I don't know if you know this or not, but my grandfather was raised here. So why don't you send a home boy back to Washington? We love campaigning in your State. Ohio is a wonderful place. I'm campaigning hard to let people know that I've got an agenda for 4 more years.

Perhaps the most important reason why you ought to put me back into office is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I readily concede that he does not have the waviest hair in the race. You'll be happy to hear I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because he's a man of sound judgment, excellent experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

Laura and I are pleased that your Governor, Bob Taft, and First Lady Hope Taft are with us today. Thank you all for coming.

Senator Mike DeWine is with us. Senator, thank you for being here. You need to put George Voinovich back in the United States Senate. I want to thank Congressman Pat Tiberi for his leadership. I want to thank Congressman Dave Hobson and Carolyn for being with us today. We're honored you are here. I want to thank my friend Deborah Pryce in the United States Congress, who is here.

I want to thank the Lieutenant Governor, who is with us. The Supreme Court of Ohio Chief Justice is with us. We've got a lot of State and local officials here. We are honored with your presence.

I want to thank all the grassroots activists who are here. I want to thank my friend Jo Ann Davidson and Doug Preisse. I want to thank you all, all of you who are making the phone calls, putting up the signs, and turning out the vote.

I'm here to not only ask for your vote; I'm here to ask for your help. I'm here to ask you to get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls. Turn out our fellow Republicans, fine independents, and discerning Democrats. Four days to go, and we're counting on your help. There's no doubt in my mind, with your help, we will carry Ohio again and win a great victory on Tuesday.

We have a clear choice—or you have a clear choice in this campaign, a clear choice between two very different candidates, dramatically different approaches and different records. You know where I stand, and sometimes, you even know where my opponent stands. [*Laughter*] We both have records. I am proudly running on mine.

This election comes down to some clear choices for America's families. The first choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every issue depends on the safety of our families. Americans will go to the polls in a time of war and ongoing threats unlike any we have faced before. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous and determined to strike. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We have strengthened our homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming the All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are relentless. We are determined. We are staying on the offense. We're chasing the terrorists across the globe so we do not have to face them here at home.

Because we led, Afghanistan is a free Nation and an ally in the war on terror; Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Because we led, Libya is dismantling its weapons programs; the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

And we've got another asset at our disposal: freedom. We believe—I believe in the power of liberty. Think about what has happened in a short period of time. Young girls in Afghanistan couldn't go to school because the Taliban was so barbaric and backward. And if their mothers didn't toe the line of ideological hatred, they were taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes executed in a sports stadium. Because we acted in our own interests, because we acted to protect ourselves, because we upheld a doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people went to the polls to vote for the President of Afghanistan. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Iraq will have elections in January. Think how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march. Freedom is taking place around this world, and America is more secure for it. I believe everybody longs to be free. I believe deep in everybody's soul, there's a yearning to live in a free society. I believe all these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom

is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

A President has to lead our country with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics change but not your principles. Americans have seen how I do my job. Even when you might not agree with me, you know what I believe and where I stand and where I intend to lead this country. On good days and on bad days, whether the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to lead this Nation and win the war on terror.

And I will always support the United States military. I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank our military families who are here. I want to thank the veterans who have set such a great example for our military. And I want to assure our military and their families and our veterans, we will make sure our troops have that which they need to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding, necessary funding to support our troops in harm's way. We got great bipartisan support for that request. Only 12 United States Senators voted against the funding for our troops, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. When you're out gathering the vote over the next 4 days, when you're rounding up people to go to the polls, remind them of this statistic: Only four Members of the United States Senate voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against providing the funding necessary for our troops in combat. Two of those four were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You might remember the most famous quote of the 2004 campaign. When asked about his vote on the $87 billion, Senator Kerry said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, I haven't spent a lot of time in Columbus, but I doubt we're going to find many people here who talk that way. [*Laughter*] He's given several explanations since about his $87 billion vote. Perhaps the most illustrative one of them all was when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow citizens, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Unfortunately, my opponent, tonight, continued to say things he knows are not true, accusing our military of passing up a chance to get Usama bin Laden in Tora Bora. As the commander in charge of that operation, Tommy Franks, has said, "It's simply not the case." It's the worst kind of Monday morning quarterbacking. It is especially shameful in the light of a new tape from America's enemy. Our commander in Afghanistan, Tommy Franks, recently said, "The Senator's understanding of events does not square with reality." General Franks said America's Special Forces were actively involved in the search for the terrorists in Tora Bora. And intelligence reports at the time placed bin Laden in any of several different countries. As General Franks said, "If we'd ever known where bin Laden was, we would have gotten him."

Before Senator Kerry got into political difficulty and revised his views, he saw our actions in Tora Bora differently. In the fall of 2001, on national TV, he said, quote, "I think we have been doing this pretty effectively, and we should continue to do it that way." Senator Kerry also went on to say about Tora Bora on national TV, "I think we've been smart. I think the administration leadership has done it well, and we are on the right track." I couldn't have said it better myself.

Senator Kerry's record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that even his Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, opposed them.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we have got to be fair—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

During the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision for America, Senator Kerry has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt, the party of Harry Truman, the party of John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of war and hours of crisis. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he's replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore, and today, I want to speak to every once of them: If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I am asking for your vote.

We have a difference of opinion. We have a difference of opinion how—as how to protect our families. My opponent said America must submit to what he calls a "global test" before we commit our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] He was standing about three yards away when he said it. I couldn't believe it either. As far as I tell, that means our country must get permission before we act in our own defense. As President, I'll build on alliances. We'll continue to work with our friends and allies, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

We have a difference of opinion as to how to protect you on this crucial issue. My opponent said that September the 11th did not change him much at all. September the 11th changed me a lot. I'll never forget the day I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. I'll never forget the sights and sounds of that day, the workers in hardhats who were yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." The worker came out of the rubble—policeman or a fireman, I'm not sure which one—who grabbed me by the arm. He looked me square in the eye. He said, "Do not let me down." From that day forward, I get up every morning thinking about how to better protect our families. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to $1,000 per child to help moms and dads. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest tax bracket to 10 percent. We reduced income taxes on everybody who pays income taxes.

I want you to remind your friends and neighbors about this fact: When I came into office, the stock market had been in serious decline for 6 months; and we faced a recession and corporate scandals; and the attacks of September the 11th cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months after that fateful day.

But our economic policies are working. Because we increased consumption and encouraged investment, our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The entrepreneurial spirit in America is strong. Small businesses are flourishing all across Ohio. Farm income is up in Ohio. The homeownership rate is at an alltime high. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s.

I fully understand there are still people hurting in the great State of Ohio, but we're heading in the right direction. Your unemployment rate dropped from 6.3 percent to 6 percent in the month of September, and we added 5,500 new jobs. We're headed in the right direction.

My opponent has plans for your family budget. He intends to take a big chunk out of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against the higher child tax credit. He voted against marriage penalty relief. He voted against lower taxes. If he'd have had his way, the average American family would be paying $2,000 more in Federal taxes.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That may not sound like a lot to some of them in Washington, but it's a lot for families right here in Columbus, Ohio. It helps moms and dads. It helps the small-business owners. You know, my opponent has been in the Senate for 20 years and he voted to raise taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times for every year in the Senate. I'd call that a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. During this campaign, he's also made a lot of promises. He's promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. That's trillion with a "T." That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts.

So they asked him, "How are you going to pay for it?" And he said, "Oh, we'll just tax the rich." You've heard that before. Be wary. See, you raise, when you run up the top two brackets, between 600 and 800 billion dollars. That is far short of the 2.2 trillion he's promised. I would call that a tax gap. That's the gap between what he's promised and what he says he can deliver. And guess who usually gets to fill the tax gap?

Audience members. We do!

The President. Yes, you do. The good news is, he is not going to tax you; we're going to carry Ohio and win a great victory.

Third—the third clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. A good education and quality health care are important to a successful life. As candidate for President, I pledged to end the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. We passed good education reforms. We believe every child can learn, and we expect every child, every school to teach. We increased Federal spending. But in return for Federal increases, we now expect State and local jurisdictions to measure. We understand you cannot solve a problem until you diagnose the problem. And we are diagnosing and we are solving problems all across America. Test scores are up in reading and math. We're closing an achievement gap for minority students. And we will not go back to the days of low expectations and mediocrity in our classrooms.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care affordable and accessible. We'll make sure the poor and the indigent get good health care in community health centers. We'll make sure our program for children of low-income families is fully subscribed. To make sure health care is affordable, we must allow small businesses to join together across jurisdictional boundaries so they can buy insurance at the same discounts big companies are able to do. We will expand health savings accounts to help our small businesses and our families.

And to make sure health care is available and affordable for citizens of Ohio, we will do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of health care. I have met too many ob-gyns who are having to leave practice because of increased premiums due to lawsuits. I have met too many expectant moms who are deeply concerned about getting the health care they need. This litigation problem is a national problem. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. My opponent has made his choice. He voted against medical liability reform 10 times and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors of Ohio. I'm standing with the families of Ohio. I'm for medical liability reform.

Senator Kerry has got a different idea about health care. You might remember in the debate when he looked square in the camera and he said about his health care

plan, "The Government didn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people who are signed up under his program end up on a Government plan. If you make it easier for people to be on Medicaid, it is likely small-business owners will drop insurance for their employees because the Government will provide it. See, you're moving people from the private sector to Government plans. When the Government writes the check, the Government makes the rules. And when the Government is making the rules about your health care, the Government starts making decisions for you and they make decisions for your doctors. The wrong prescription for American families is to federalize our health care. In all we do to improve our family's health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Medicare needed to be changed. See, we would pay thousands of dollars for a heart surgery but not one dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That didn't make any sense to our seniors. So I brought Republicans and Democrats together. We modernized Medicare for our seniors, and beginning in 2006, seniors will get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

And we'll keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and we will strengthen Social Security for generations to come. Now, you might remember the 2000 campaign when they started running those ads and putting out the leaflets and flyers that said this to our seniors: "If George W. gets elected, our seniors will not get their checks." So when you're out there rounding up the vote, when you're working hard over the next 4 days, remind your friends and neighbors that George W. did get elected, and the seniors did get their checks. And our seniors will continue to get their checks. And baby boomers like me and Arnold—[*laughter*]—we're in pretty good shape when it comes to Social Security.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether Social Security will be there for them. And that is why I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account that earns a greater rate of interest, an account you own and an account the Government can never take away.

My opponent takes a different approach. You know, he said he's going to protect Social Security. But tell your friends and neighbors that he voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Like on other issues, he can run, but he cannot hide.

And he's offered nothing for the next generation when it comes to Social Security. The job of the President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. In a new term, I will bring people together so that we modernize and strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

The final choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I believe marriage is a sacred institution. I will promote a culture of life and proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. And I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. The security and prosperity of our country are at stake. The health of our families is at stake. The education of our children is at stake. And the direction of our culture is at stake. And the decision is in the best of hands. The decision is in the hands of the American people.

One of my favorite quotes was written by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone."

My opponent has spent much of this campaign talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of America. I see a day where every child is able to read and write and add and subtract. I see a day in which this world becomes more peaceful and we're able to achieve the peace we all dream for for our children and our grandchildren.

When I campaigned across your State in 2000, I made you this pledge, that if I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the integrity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:27 p.m. at the Nationwide Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California; Gov. Bob Taft of Ohio and his wife, Hope; Carolyn Hobson, wife of Congressman David Hobson; Lt. Gov. Jennette B. Bradley of Ohio; Chief Justice Thomas J. Moyer of the Supreme Court of Ohio; Jo Ann Davidson, Ohio Valley regional chairman, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.; Doug Preisse, chairman, Franklin County Republican Party Executive Committee; Gen. Tommy R. Franks, USA, (Ret.), former combatant commander, U.S. Central Command; Usama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaida terrorist organization; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks in Grand Rapids, Michigan

October 30, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. Thanks for taking time out of your Saturday morning to come by and say hello. Laura and I are honored to be back in western Michigan. You've lifted our spirits. We're proud to be in a home of a fine former President, President Gerald Ford, and a great First Lady in Betty Ford. I know you honor their service to our country, as do Laura and I. We're here to ask for your vote, and I'm here to ask for your help.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. We're close to voting time. We have a duty in our country to vote. In our free society, we have an obligation, I think, to go to the polls and express our opinions. So I'm here to ask you to convince your friends and neighbors to do their duty. Make sure our fellow Republicans go to the polls. Make sure independents go to the polls. Make sure discerning Democrats go to the polls. And when you get them headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America and a stronger America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

I enjoy traveling our country. I enjoy talking to the people. I love to tell the people what I am going to do for the next 4 years. Perhaps the most important reason to put me in, though, is to make sure Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Laura! Laura! Laura!

The President. I am proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I readily concede he does not have the waviest hair in this race. [*Laughter*] But I know the people of western Michigan will be pleased to hear I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment. I picked him because of his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I want to thank my friend Betsy DeVos for her leadership and her community spirit. I want to thank the DeVos family for joining us today.

I want to thank my friend Congressman Peter Hoekstra for joining us today. Pete, I'm glad you're here; his wife, Diane, is here; other family members are here. I look forward to working with the chairman of a really important committee to make sure our intelligence gathering works, to make sure America can stay secure. Appreciate your service, Pete. I want to thank Congressman Vern Ehlers for joining us today. Congressman, we're proud you're here. Thank you for representing this district with such distinction and honor.

I want to thank the attorney general, Mike Cox, and Secretary of State Terri Lynn Land for joining us.

I want to thank all the local and State officials who are here. I want to thank all the people who have thrown their hat in the ring and are running for office.

I want to thank the Sparta High School Marching Band for joining us today, the Western Michigan Home School Northern Lights Marching Band. I want to thank Daron Norwood for singing for you today. He's good, isn't he?

But most of all, I want to thank you all and the grassroots activists, the people putting up the signs, the people making the phone calls. I know how much work it requires to get a crowd this big, and I thank you for what you have done. I want to thank you for what you're going to do. You're going to turn out a big vote in western Michigan, and we'll carry this State on November 2d.

This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I'm ready for the work ahead.

My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and taught me some new lessons. I've learned to expect the unexpected, because war and emergency can arrive on a quiet autumn morning. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even when the cause is right. I've been grateful for the lesson I've learned from my parents, respect every person and do your best and live every day to its fullest. I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is a part of a larger story. I've learned how a President needs to lead, as Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated.

A President must not shift in the wind. A President has to make tough decisions and stand by them. The role of the American President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based upon principle and conviction and conscience. Especially in dangerous times, mixed signals only confuse our friends and embolden our enemies. Mixed signals are the wrong signals for the American President to send.

The last 4 years, Americans have learned a few things about me as well. Sometimes, I'm a little too blunt. [*Laughter*] I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But Americans have learned also that even when you might not agree with me, you know where I stand. You know what I believe, and you know where I'm going to lead.

You cannot say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I think it's fair to say, consistency is not his long suit. And next Tuesday, the American people will go to the polls. They will be voting for vision. They will be voting for consistency. They will be voting for conviction. And no doubt in my mind,* they'll be voting for Bush/Cheney.

This election comes down to five clear choices for the American people. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The will—this will be the first Presidential election since September the 11th, 2001. Americans will go to the polls in a time of war and ongoing threats unlike any we have faced before. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous, and they are determined. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows any uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We have strengthened protections for the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence services. We are transforming our military. There will be no draft. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. We are determined. We are steadfast. We are staying on the offensive against the terrorists across the globe so we do not have to face them here at home.

Our strategy is succeeding. As the September the 11th Commission pointed out, we are safer but not yet safe. But because we

* White House correction.

led, Afghanistan is a free nation and now an ally in the war on terror. Because we led, Pakistan is capturing terrorists; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests; Libya is dismantling its weapons programs; the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

And part of our strategy to make sure our children and our grandchildren grow up in a peaceful world is to spread freedom. I believe in the transformational power of liberty. I believe liberty can transform societies.

Think about what has happened in Afghanistan in a relatively brief period of time. It wasn't all that long ago that young girls were not allowed to go to school and their mothers were taken into the public square and whipped because of these ideologues of hate called the Taliban. Because we acted in our own self-interest, because we acted to uphold a doctrine I outlined which said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," because we acted to secure the American people, millions of citizens voted in a Presidential election in Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Despite the horrific acts of the terrorists in Iraq, there are going to be free elections in Iraq in January. And think how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march. Freedom is on the move around the world, and that's important. Free societies will be peaceful societies. Free societies will join us in fighting the terrorists instead of harboring the terrorists. I believe every soul wants to be free in this world. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

A President must lead this country with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics change but never your principles. Americans have seen how I do my job. On good days and on bad days, when the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to protect this country. And I will always support the men and women who wear our Nation's uniform. I am proud to be the Commander in Chief of a great military, and I want to thank those who wear our uniform for your service to our country. I want to thank the military families who are here, for your sacrifice and service. And I want to thank the veterans who are here who have set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. And I will assure you, in a new term, I will keep the commitment I have made to support our troops in harm's way.

I went to the Congress in September of 2003, asking for $87 billion to support our troops in combat. It was very important funding. We got great support—Pete might remember—overwhelming bipartisan support. Only 12 Members of the United States Senate voted against it, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate. I want you——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. When you're out gathering up the vote, remind people of this statistic, this fact: Four Members of the Senate voted to authorize force and then voted against the funding necessary to support our troops in harm's way, two of whom—two of those four—were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You might remember what he said when they asked him about why he made the vote. Senator Kerry said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it." I haven't spent nearly as much time in this part of the world as you have, but I can assure you, you're not going to find many people in Grand Rapids, Michigan, who talks that way.

You know, he's given several answers on that vote since then. Perhaps the most revealing of all was when he just said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

My opponent has had a propensity to change positions in this campaign. His positions are like the weather here in western Michigan. [*Laughter*] You don't like it, wait a little bit, and it will change.

Senator Kerry said that we're better off with Saddam Hussein out of power, except when he declares that removing Saddam Hussein made us less safe. He stated in our second debate he always believed Saddam

was a threat—except, a few questions later, when he said Saddam Hussein was not a threat. He says he was right when he voted to authorize the use of force against Saddam Hussein, but I was wrong to use force against Saddam Hussein.

His record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flops. One of the largest national security issues of our time—on the largest national issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's budget, so massive that even his Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—let's be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right.

During the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision, Senator Kerry has chosen the path of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt, the party of Harry Truman, the party of John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of war and in hours of crisis. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he has replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore, and today, I want to speak to every one of them. If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I am asking for your vote.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. There are big differences in this campaign when it comes to your family's security. Senator Kerry said that America must submit to what he calls a "global test."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. He said it in a debate. I was surprised, like you were. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, it means our country must get permission from foreign capitals before we act in our own defense. I will work with our allies. I will strengthen our alliances. I will work with our friends, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

We have a difference of opinion. My opponent was quoted as saying that September the 11th did not change him much at all. His policies make that clear. He says the war on terror is primarily a law enforcement and intelligence gathering operation. September the 11th changed my outlook. I remember the day I went to the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. The sights and sounds will be with me forever. I remember the workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember looking the man square in the eye who came out of the rubble. He grabbed me by my arm, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to better figure out how to better protect America. I will never relent in defending our country, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to $1,000 per child. We reduced the marriage penalty. We think the Tax Code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent. We reduced income taxes for everybody who pays taxes. Our plans are working.

When you round up the vote, remind people about what this economy has been through. Six months prior to my arrival in Washington, the stock market was in serious decline. Then we had a recession. Then we had corporate scandals. And then the attacks

of September the 11th cost us a million jobs in the 3 months after those attacks.

But our economic policies have led us back to growth. This economy of ours is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. Homeownership rate is at an alltime high in America. More minority families own their own home, and that's better for our country. Michigan farmers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. The small-business sector is alive and well in America.

People are still hurting in the State of Michigan. I know that. I've traveled here a lot. I've heard the stories. But the fundamental question is, which candidate can continue to grow this economy? Who's got the pro-growth, pro-entrepreneur, pro-small-business plan? And that's George W. Bush.

My opponent has very different plans for your family's budget. He intend to take a big chunk out of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against the higher child tax credit. He voted against marriage penalty relief. He voted against reducing income taxes. If he had had his way over the past 3 years, the average Michigan family would be paying $2,000 per year more to the Federal Government.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, I know that doesn't sound like a lot to some of them in Washington, but it's a lot for families right here in Grand Rapids. It helps moms and dads. That money helps our small businesses create new jobs. My opponent has been in the Senate for 20 years, and he's voted to raise taxes 98 times. That's about five times per year in the Senate. I'd call that a predictable pattern—[*laughter*]—a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] A Senator does something that often, he must really like it. [*Laughter*] During this campaign, he's also promised $2.2 trillion in Federal spending. That's trillion with a "T." [*Laughter*] That's a lot. Even for a Senator from Massachusetts, that's a lot. [*Laughter*] So they asked him, "How are you going to pay for it?" He said that same old thing, you know, "We're just going to tax the rich."

Two things wrong with that. One is, most small businesses pay individual income taxes. Most small businesses are sole proprietorships and Subchapter S corporations. Seventy percent of the new jobs in America are created by small businesses. So when you run up the top two brackets like he has promised to do, you're taxing the job creators, and that's lousy economic policy.

And here's something you need to be wary about. When you talk about top—raising the top two brackets, you're only raising between 600 and 800 billion dollars. I say "only" because he's promised 2.2 trillion. So there's a tax gap. That would be a gap between what he has promised and what he can deliver. And given his record, you probably can guess who is going to have to fill that tax gap. You are. But don't worry about it. We're going to carry Michigan, and he's not going to be able to tax you.

The third clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. A good education and quality health care are important for a successful life. As a candidate, I pledged to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. As President, I kept my word.

The No Child Left Behind Act is substantial reform. In return for extra help from the Federal Government, we now demand accountability in our classrooms. You know why? Because we believe every child can learn, and we expect every school to teach. You cannot solve a problem until you diagnose the problem, and we're making diagnoses all across our country, and we're solving problems. Test scores are up in reading and math. We're closing achievement gaps for our minority students all across America. And we're not going to go back to the days of low standards and mediocrity in our classrooms.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more accessible and more affordable. We will take care of the poor and the indigent by spreading community health centers. We will make sure our programs for children with—from low-income families are fully subscribed. We want to help people get health care.

But we also understand we've got to make it more affordable, and here are three commonsense ways to do so. Small businesses ought to be allowed to join together to share risk, so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will expand health savings accounts to help our families and our small businesses better afford insurance and plans that enable you to manage your health care. And finally, we will do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running good docs out of practice and running the cost of health care up.

I have met too many ob-gyns in our country who are having to quit the practice of medicine because these lawsuits have driven their premiums sky-high. I've met too many expectant moms who have told me about their concerns about getting quality health care because their doctor is no longer in practice. We have a national problem when it comes to medical liability reform. I don't think you can be pro-patient and pro-doctor and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice. My opponent has made his choice. He voted 10 times against medical liability reform, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors of Michigan. I'm standing with the patients of Michigan. I am for real medical liability reform.

Senator Kerry's got a different point of view when it comes to health. You might remember one of the debates. And they asked him about his health care plan. He looked square in the camera, and he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people under his plan would end up on a Government-run program. When you make it easier for people to sign up on Medicaid, it means small businesses are likely to drop coverage for their employees because the Government will provide the coverage. People move from the private sector to the Government sector under his plan. And when Government writes the checks when it comes to health care, they start writing the rules when it comes to health care. And when they start writing the rules when it comes to health care, they start making decisions for you when it comes to your health care and they start making decisions for the doctors when it comes to health care. The wrong prescription for American families when it comes to their health care is to federalize health care.

In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I have kept my word. Medicare needed to be modernized. The Government would pay thousands of dollars for the heart surgery under Medicare but not a dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. We brought people together. We strengthened and modernized the system. And beginning in 2006, our seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

And when it comes to Social Security, we will keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and we will strengthen Social Security for generations to come. When you're gathering up the vote, remind your friends and neighbors about what took place in the 2000 campaign. They said by TV and by flier and by word of mouth that, "If George W. got elected, our seniors would not get their checks." You might remember that aspect of the 2000 campaign. Well, George W. got elected, and our seniors got their checks. And our seniors will continue to get their checks. And baby boomers like me and a couple others out there I see, we will get our checks. The Social Security system is in good shape for the seniors and baby boomers.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. We need to worry about whether or not Social Security will be there when they need it. And therefore, I think younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their personal savings account—some of

their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account they call their own, an account the Government cannot take away.

My opponent has taken a different approach about Social Security. He told the people he's going to strengthen Social Security, but remind your friends and neighbors, he voted to tax Social Security benefits eight times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And he hasn't offered anything for the younger Americans when it comes to modernizing the system. The job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. In a new term, I will bring people together, and we will strengthen the Social Security system for generations to come.

The fifth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I believe marriage and family are the foundation of our society. I will promote a culture of life, and I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent and I differ. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act, and at one point in this campaign, he said that the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Most families do not look to Hollywood as a source for values. The heart and soul of America is found in communities like Grand Rapids, Michigan.

I'm optimistic about the future of our country. You know, when you're running for President, anger is not an agenda, and a litany of complaints is not a plan. I have a hopeful and positive vision. The President must see clearly where he intends to lead this Nation. Perhaps, let me define to you how I feel by quoting a friend from Texas, Tom Lea. Unfortunately, he's deceased recently, but here's what he said. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." In the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the campaign talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for our country. I see a day when prosperity reaches every corner of America. I see a day where every child is able to read and write. I see a day in which this world becomes more peaceful. I see a day in which we achieve the peace we all long for, for our children and our grandchildren.

When I campaigned across your State in 2000, I made this pledge: I said if I won, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 a.m. at DeVos Place. In his remarks, he referred to Betsy DeVos, chairman, Michigan Republican Party; country music entertainer Daron Norwood; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. He also referred to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission).

The President's Radio Address

October 30, 2004

Good morning. In just a few days, Americans will choose who will lead our country during a time of war and economic opportunity. And the choice on Tuesday comes down to a few issues of great consequence. The first choice is the most important, because all our progress depends on our safety.

Since September the 11th, 2001, I have led a relentless campaign against the terrorists. We have strengthened homeland security. We removed terror regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq. We are on the offensive around the world, because the best way to prevent future attacks is to go after the enemy.

My opponent has a different view. Senator Kerry says September the 11th didn't change him much, and his policies make that clear. He says the war on terror is primarily an intelligence and law enforcement operation. He has proposed what he calls a "global test"

that would give foreign governments a veto over American security decisions. And when our troops in Afghanistan and Iraq needed funding for body armor and bullets, Senator Kerry voted against it.

The direction of the war on terror is at stake in the election of 2004. And when you go to the polls on Tuesday, remember this: I will do whatever it takes to defend America and prevail in the war on terror, and I will always support the men and women who do the fighting.

The second choice in this election concerns your family budget. As a candidate, I pledged to lower taxes for families, and I have kept my word. We doubled the child tax credit, reduced the marriage penalty, and dropped the lowest tax bracket to 10 percent. Now working families keep more of their paychecks, and America's economy is growing faster than any other among major industrialized nations.

My opponent voted against all our tax relief for working families. His votes would have squeezed about $2,000 more in taxes from the average middle-class family. Now Senator Kerry is promising to increase Federal spending by more than $2.2 trillion. And to pay for all that new spending, he would have to raise taxes on American families. I will keep your taxes low because I know it's not the Government's money; it's your family's money.

The third choice in this election involves your quality of life. As President, I signed historic education reforms to bring high standards to the classroom and make schools accountable to parents, and our children are making progress in reading and math. We've strengthened Medicare, created health savings accounts, and expanded community health centers to help more Americans get health care. I'm proposing a series of practical reforms to make health care more affordable and accessible by expanding health savings accounts, allowing association health plans, and protecting patients and doctors from junk and frivolous lawsuits.

My opponent has a different approach. Senator Kerry voted for the No Child Left Behind Act, but he has pledged to weaken the accountability standards. He's voted 10 times against medical liability reform. And now, he's proposing a big-Government health care plan that would do nothing about rising health costs and would cause millions of Americans to lose their private health insurance and end up on Government programs.

Finally, this election presents a choice on the values that keep our families strong. I believe marriage is a sacred commitment, and I will always defend it. I will continue to appoint judges who strictly interpret the law. And I will keep working to move this goodhearted nation toward a culture of life.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. Senator Kerry was part of an out-of-the-mainstream minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. He believes there ought to be a liberal litmus test for judicial appointments. He voted against banning the brutal practice of partial-birth abortion. I believe that reasonable people can find common ground on difficult issues, and I will continue reaching out and bringing Americans together to protect our deepest held values.

All of these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. These past 4 years, you have seen how I do my job. Even when you might not agree with me, you know where I stand, what I believe, and what I intend to do. Soon, the decision will be in your hands. And however you decide, I urge you to get out and vote on Tuesday.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:50 a.m. on October 29 in the Cabinet Room for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 30. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 29 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Remarks in Ashwaubenon, Wisconsin

October 30, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all. It's good to be with all the cheeseheads. It's great to be back in Brown County.

We're here to ask for your vote and here to ask for your help. It is close to voting time. We have a duty in our democracy to vote. And so I'm asking you to get your friends and neighbors and remind them of that duty. Find our fellow Republicans, and turn them out. Find independents, and turn them out. Find discerning Democrats, and head them to the polls. And when you get them going to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason of all to put me back in for 4 more years is to make sure that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate. I don't want to offend anybody here who is follically challenged—[*laughter*]—but I admit it, Vice President Cheney doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] People in this part of the world will be happy I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment. I picked him because of his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I'm proud of your former Governor, my friend and Cabinet Secretary, Tommy Thompson. He's done a great job. You know, one of the jobs of a President is to surround himself with smart, capable people. I obviously know how to do that when I picked Tommy Thompson.

I want to thank Congressman Mark Green for being such a fine Member of the United States Congress. I want to thank his wife, Sue. I want to thank Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner and wife, Cheryl, for joining us today. I want to thank Congressman Tom Petri for joining us today. I want to thank Congressman Paul Ryan for joining us today.

I want to thank your State treasurer, Jack Voight. I want to thank the assembly speaker for being here. I want to thank Milwaukee County Executive Scott Walker. I call him Scott W. I want to thank all the local officials, the mayors and the city council folks.

I want to thank Tina Danforth, the Oneida Nation chairwoman, for joining us today. I want to thank Bob Scheick, the Stockbridge tribal president, for joining us today. I am honored—I'm honored these tribal leaders are here, and I look forward to working on a government-to-government basis in the next 4 years to help build a more hopeful America for every citizen who lives in this country.

I hope you vote for Tim Michels for the United States Senate. Laura and I have come to know he and Barbara, and he is a fine, fine man. He'll make a great United States Senator.

I want to thank my friend Kayne Robinson, who's the president of the NRA, the National Rifle Association. I want to thank Wayne LaPierre for being with us today. I'm proud to have the endorsement and support of so many of the sports men and women across the State of Wisconsin. I appreciate Jeff Schinkten, who's the Whitetails Unlimited founder and board president, for supporting my candidacy.

I want to thank Lee Greenwood for being here, my friend.

But most of all, Laura and I thank you all for coming. Thank you for taking time out of your Saturday afternoon to come by and say hello. I want to thank those of you who are putting up the signs. I want to thank those of you who are making the phone calls. I want to thank you for turning out such a huge crowd today. I want to thank you for what you have done and what you're going to do. By working hard and by turning out the vote, there is no doubt in my mind we will carry Wisconsin and win a great victory in November.

The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I am ready for the job. My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and have taught me some new ones. I've learned to expect the unexpected because war and emergency can arrive suddenly on a quiet morning. I have learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even if the cause is right. I've been grateful for the lessons I have learned from my parents: Respect every person; do your best; live life to its fullest. I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

I know how a President must lead, as Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated. A President must not shift with the wind. A President has to make the tough decisions and stand by them. In the last 4 years, Americans have learned a few things about me. Sometimes I am a little too blunt. [*Laughter*] I got that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I got that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or disagree with me, you know where I stand. You know what I believe, and you know where I'm going to lead.

You can't say that about my opponent. I think it is fair to say that consistency is not his long suit. [*Laughter*] Next Tuesday, the citizens of this country will vote. They will vote for conviction. They will vote for principle. They will vote for somebody who knows how to lead this country, and with your help, they'll be voting for George W. Bush.

This election comes down to five choices for America's families. And the first clear choice is the most important, because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous and determined to strike. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. And if our country, if America shows any uncertainty or any weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We're protecting the homeland. We're transforming—or reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming our military. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. There will be no draft. We are relentless. We are steadfast. We are determined. We will chase the terrorists around the globe so we do not have to face them here at home.

Because we led, Afghanistan is a free nation and now an ally in the war on terror. Because we led, Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Because we led, Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. Because we led, an army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

We will not only stay on the offense with all our assets; we will stay on the offense by spreading freedom and liberty. I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies. And I want the youngsters to know firsthand what I mean. Just look at what happened in Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that the people of that country lived under the brutal reign of barbarians, ideologues of hate called the Taliban. Young girls were not allowed to go to school, and if their mothers did not toe the line, they were taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes executed in a sports stadium. Because we acted in our own self-defense, because we upheld a doctrine that I clearly laid out for the world which said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," because we did what we said we were going to do, millions of people in Afghanistan voted for President of that country. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman. And America is better off to have freedom take the place of tyranny in Afghanistan.

And there are going to be elections in Iraq in January. Think how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and the brutal reign of a hater of America who had mass graves for thousands of his citizens. Freedom is on the march, and America and the world are more secure because of it. I believe in my heart of hearts that every person in the world desires to live in a free society. I believe this because I understand that freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman of this world.

A President must lead with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics have to change but never your principles. Americans have seen how I do my job. On

good days and on bad days, when the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to protect the security of the American people.

And I will always support the men and women who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank those who wear the uniform who are here today. I want to thank the military families who are here today for your sacrifice. And I want to thank the veterans who are here today for having set such a great example for the men and women of today's military. And we'll make sure our troops have got the full support of the Government.

That's why I went to the Congress and requested $87 billion of funding to support our troops in combat. It was important. This happened in September of 2003. And it was vital, a vital funding request. And we got good bipartisan support there in Washington. Only 12 Members of the Senate voted against the funding, 2 of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. But I want to tell you this fact. As you're gathering up the vote, remind your friends and neighbors about this. Only 4 Members of the United States Senate—4 out of 100—voted to authorize force and then voted against the funding to support the troops they authorized, and 2 of those 4 were my opponent and his runningmate. They kept asking him why he made the vote he did. And he uttered perhaps the most famous quote of the 2004 campaign, when he said, "I actually did vote for the $87 billion, right before I voted against it." [*Laughter*]

Now, I haven't spent a lot of time in the coffee shops here in Green Bay, but I suspect I'm not going to find many people who talk that way. [*Laughter*] They kept pressing him. They kept asking for answers. He's given several answers since then, but perhaps the most revealing of all was that he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

My opponent's positions are kind of like the weather here in Green Bay—[*laughter*]—if you don't like it, wait a little bit, and it will change. [*Laughter*]

My opponent's record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. And it's important for you to understand the record. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991 because the tyrant had invaded Kuwait and threatened the peace and stability of the world, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that even his colleague from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, voted against them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we have got to be fair—in this case, Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

During the 20 years—during the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision for America, Senator Kerry has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of crises and in times of war. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he has replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore. And today, I want to speak to every one of them: If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I'm asking for your vote.

We have big differences about how to approach the security of our country. You might

remember one of our debates when my opponent said that America must pass a "global test" before we commit our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] I heard it too. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, that means we've got to get permission from foreign capitals before we act in our own defense. That's——

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. That is a dangerous policy in the world in which we live. I'll work with our friends. I will work with our allies. I understand how important these alliances are, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

The security of our families are—is at stake. We've got to be firm and resolved. My opponent was quoted about September the 11th, and he said it didn't change him much at all. Well, September the 11th changed me. It made me look at the world in a different light. I'll never forget the day I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers—that was September the 14th, 2001. I'll never forget the sights and the sounds of that moment when the workers in hardhats were yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." And one of the first-responders—I don't know if he worked for the fire department of New York or the police department—he came out of the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me right in the eye and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect America. I will never relent in defending this country, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for our families, and I kept my word. We raised the child credit. We lowered the penalty on marriage. We believe the code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We created a 10-percent bracket. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes, and we're overcoming obstacles because of that plan.

When you're out gathering the vote, remind your friends and neighbors that 6 months prior to my arrival the stock market was in serious decline. That would be 6 months prior to my arrival in January of 2001. And then we had a recession and corporate scandals and an attack that cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months after September the 11th.

But our economic policies are working. This economy of ours is strong, and it is getting stronger. We've added 1.9 million jobs in the last 13 months. Homeownership rate is at an alltime high in America. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. Wisconsin farmers are making a living. The small-business sector in our country is strong. The entrepreneurial spirit is alive, and it is well. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. The unemployment rate in the great State of Wisconsin is 5 percent. We're overcoming the obstacles. We're strong, and we are getting stronger.

My opponent has different plans for your budget. He's going to take a big chunk out of it. He voted against the child credit—raising the child credit. He voted against reducing the marriage penalty. He voted against the tax relief. And had he had had his way, the average family in Wisconsin would be paying $2,000 more per year in taxes.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, that probably doesn't seem like a lot to some of them in Washington, but I understand it's a lot for the families in Green Bay, Wisconsin. People can use that $2,000. It can help them raise their children, help them make a living—and if you're a small-business owner.

My opponent's been in the Senate for 20 years, and he voted to raise taxes 98 times. That's five times a year. Now, I would call that a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] He's also promised $2.2 trillion in new spending. That would be trillion with a "T." [*Laughter*] And that's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*]

So they asked him how he's going to pay for it, and he threw out that same old, tired line, "Oh, we'll pay for it by taxing the rich." That means he's going to raise the top two brackets. You know most small businesses are

sole proprietorships or Subchapter S corporations, which means they pay tax at the individual income-tax level. Seventy percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses. So therefore, when you run up the top two brackets, you're taxing job creators; you're taxing small-business owners. And that doesn't make any economic sense at all.

And secondly, when you top—raise the top two brackets, you raise between 600 and 800 billion dollars, which is far short of the 2.2 trillion he has promised. I call that a tax gap. [*Laughter*] And given his record, guess who gets to fill the tax gap? You do. The good news is, you're not going to get taxed; we're going to carry Wisconsin and win on November the 2d.

The third clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our families. That means good education and quality health care. As a candidate, I pledged to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. We passed the No Child Left Behind Act, which I proudly signed into law. In return for increased Federal spending, we're now expecting results because we believe every child can learn and we expect every school to teach. You cannot solve a problem unless you diagnose the problem. And so the new system enables us to diagnose and solve problems. The test scores are on the rise across this country in reading and math. We're closing an achievement gap for minority students all across this country. And we refuse to go back to the days of low standards and mediocrity in our classrooms.

And we will improve health care by making sure it is available and affordable. To make sure health care is available, we'll expand community health centers to help the poor and the indigent get primary and preventative care. We'll make sure our program for children of low-income families is fully subscribed. A compassionate society takes care of those who cannot help themselves. But I also recognize that most of the uninsured work for small businesses. And so to enable the small businesses to better afford insurance, we ought to allow them to join together to pool risk so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will expand health savings accounts to help our families and our entrepreneurs.

And to make sure health care is available and affordable, we will do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine and driving too many doctors out of business. I have met too many ob-gyns as I've traveled our country who are having trouble staying in practice because these lawsuits are running up their premiums and running them out of practice. And I have met too many women who are concerned about whether or not they and their child will get the health care they need. Too many communities have been upset because doctors can no longer practice medicine.

This is a national problem, I'm telling you, that requires a national solution. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice. My opponent made his choice. He has voted against medical liability reform not once but 10 times as a Senator. And he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I've made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors. I'm standing with the patients of Wisconsin. I am for medical liability reform—now.

My opponent has got a different point of view when it comes to health care. You might remember the debate when he said, well, the—they asked him about his plan, and he looked in the camera and he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people that would be signed up for health insurance under his plan would go on the Government health care plan. If you make it easier for people to sign up for Medicaid, small businesses will drop insurance because the Government will provide the insurance. And so you're moving people from the private sector to the public sector. And when the Government starts writing the check, the Government starts making the rules. And when the Government starts making the rules for your family's health care, they start making the decisions for your family's health care and they start

making the decisions for your doctors. Federalizing health care is the wrong prescription for American families.

In all we do to make sure health care is available and affordable, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. The Medicare debate was one of those debates in which people said a lot of stuff but nothing ever got done. I worked with Republicans and Democrats to make the system work better. We would pay thousands of dollars for a heart surgery under Medicare but not one dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. It didn't make any sense. The system wasn't working. We got the job done. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

And we'll keep our commitment in Social Security as well. Let me talk about Social Security—well, you don't have any choice. I'm going to talk about Social Security. [*Laughter*] You might remember the 2000 campaign when they ran the ads in Wisconsin that tried to scare our seniors by saying that, "If George W. gets elected, the seniors will not get their checks." Remind your friends and neighbors, George W. got elected, and the seniors got their checks. And the seniors will continue to get their checks. No matter how they try to scare Wisconsin seniors, the seniors will get their checks. And baby boomers like me and like some of the others I see out there—[*laughter*]—are in pretty good shape when it comes to Social Security.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether the Social Security trust will be available for them when they need it. And therefore, I think younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, a personal saving account they call their own, a personal savings account the Government cannot take away.

My opponent takes a different approach about Social Security. He's promised he's going to protect the system, but what he didn't tell you was he voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide. We're not going to let him hide.

And he didn't offer anything for the youngsters when it comes to strengthening Social Security. The job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. In a new term, I will bring people together and strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

And the fifth clear choice is on the values that are crucial for our country. We stand for things. We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortions. And we stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent has had a different point of view. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. And at one point in this campaign, he said that the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. The heart and soul of America is found in communities all across the great State of Wisconsin.

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. And the decision is in the best of hands. It is in the hands of the American people. In less than 72 hours, the American people will be voting, and the decision comes down to who do you trust?

Audience members. You!

The President. I offer——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I offer leadership and results for a time of threat and a time of challenge. I ask for your trust. I ask for your vote. I ask for your help. I have a vision for this

country that is clear. I know where I want to take us, and it's to a more hopeful tomorrow.

One of my favorite quotes is by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the campaign talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming. I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of America. I see a day when every child can read and write. I see a day when we achieve the peace that we all long for our children and our grandchildren.

When I campaigned across your State 4 years ago, I made this pledge, that if elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the Brown County Veterans Memorial Complex. In his remarks, he referred to John Gard, speaker, Wisconsin State Assembly; Wayne LaPierre, Jr., executive vice president and chief executive officer, National Rifle Association; country music entertainer Lee Greenwood; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Minneapolis, Minnesota

October 30, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. We appreciate you coming. Thank you all. Thanks for coming. Laura and I are honored so many came to say hello. We, first, want to thank you for lifting our spirits. How good does it get—Arnold yesterday, Mike Tice today. I'm proud to be introduced by a leader and somebody who's getting results. Thanks for coming, Mike. Laura and I are thrilled you are here.

We are here to ask for your vote. We are here to ask for your help. It is close to voting time. That's the time when people in a free society do their obligations and go to the polls. We have a duty in this country to vote. I'm here to get your friends—I'm here to ask you to ask your friends and neighbors to do their duty. Get our fellow Republicans to the polls. Get wise independents to the polls—[*laughter*]—discerning Democrats like Mayor Randy Kelly from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the polls. I appreciate you, friend.

The Democrat mayor of St. Paul is not alone. There are a lot of Democrats who, just like you, want America to be a safer, stronger, and better place. When you get people headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason why people should reelect me is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I don't want to offend anybody who is follically challenged, but I fully recognize that the Vice President doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] The people of this great State will be pleased to know I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment, his experience. He is getting the job done for the American people.

I am proud of your Governor, Tim Pawlenty, and so are the people of Minnesota. I want to thank my friend and your United States Senator, Norm Coleman, for his leadership. I want to thank the Members of Congress who are here, Congressman John Kline, Congressman Jim Ramstad, Congressman Mark Kennedy, for their service.

I want to thank Pat Anderson. I want to thank all the candidates running for office. I want to thank my friend Rudy Boschwitz for being such a strong and loyal supporter. I want to thank Gary Cayo, the president of the Minnesota Fraternal Order of Police, for his support and the support of the Fraternal Order of Police all across our country. I want to thank Billy Dean.

Most of all, I want to thank you all. I want to thank the grassroots activists who are putting up the signs, making the phone calls, doing the hard work necessary to have such a big rally as this one. I want to thank you for what you have done and what you are going to do, which is to turn out that vote. No doubt in my mind, with your help, we

will carry Minnesota and win a great victory in November. [*Applause*] Thank you all.

This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course on the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America needs strong, optimistic, determined leadership, and I'm ready for the job.

My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and taught some new ones. I've learned to expect the unexpected, because war and emergency can arrive suddenly on a quiet morning. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even if it's the right cause. I've been grateful for the lessons I've learned from my parents: Respect every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

I know how a President needs to lead. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift with the wind. A President has to make the tough decisions and stand by them.

In the last 4 years, Americans have learned some things about me as well. Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand and where I intend to lead this country.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You cannot say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Consistency is not his long suit. [*Laughter*] The people of this country will vote next Tuesday. I am confident they will vote for consistency, for conviction, and for principle. And with your help, we'll win in November the 2d.

This election comes down to five clear choices for America's families. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. Americans go to the polls in a time of war and ongoing threats. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous and determined to strike. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against the terrorists. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubled times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we've fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear—our strategy is clear. We've strengthened protections for the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We're transforming our All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are determined. We are steadfast. We are resolute. We will stay on the offensive against the terrorists around the world so we do not have to face them here at home.

Because we led, the world is changing. Afghanistan is a free nation and an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders. Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for the freedom of its people. And more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

So long as I'm your President, I will use every asset at our disposal to protect the American people, and perhaps the strongest asset we have is our belief in liberty, our belief that liberty can transform societies. I want the youngsters here to understand what has taken place in a brief period of time.

It wasn't all that long ago in Afghanistan that young girls couldn't go to school because the country was run by the ideologues of hate called the Taliban. And if their mothers didn't toe the line, they were taken into the public squares and whipped and sometimes taken to a sports stadium and executed. Because this great Nation acted to defend ourselves, because we upheld the doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally

as guilty as the terrorist," millions of citizens—millions of citizens—voted in a Presidential election in Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

And America is better off as freedom spreads around the world. Iraq will have Presidential elections in January. Think how far that society has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves and the brutal rule of a fierce tyrant. Freedom is on the march.

I believe everybody longs to be free. I believe deep in everybody's soul is the desire to live in a free society. I believe that not because freedom is America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

A President must lead with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics change but never your principles. And Americans have seen how I do my job. On good days, on bad days, when the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to protect the American people.

And I am the Commander in Chief of a great United States military. I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform who have joined us today. I want to thank the military families who are with us today, and I want to thank the veterans of the United States of America who've set such a great example. And I assure you and I assure our vets and our families and those men and women in uniform that you'll have the resources—the military will have the resources they need to complete their mission.

That's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding in September of 2003. That money was necessary. That money was important. We had troops in harm's way, and they needed the full support of the Government. And we received good bipartisan support, so strong that only 12 Senators voted against the funding——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate. But as you gather the vote, I want you to remind people of this fact. Four Members of the Senate—only 4 out of 100—voted to authorize force and voted against the support for our troops in combat. Two of those four were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, they asked him why he made the vote he did, and you might remember perhaps the most famous quote of the 2004 campaign when he said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I haven't spent a lot of time in the coffee shops in this great State, but I doubt I'm going to find hardly anybody who talks that way in Minnesota.

He's given several reasons why he made that vote, but perhaps the most revealing of all was when he said, "The whole thing is a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

The American people have been watching this election carefully, and they noticed my opponent's positions are kind of like the weather here in Minnesota. If you don't like it, wait a little bit, and it will change. [*Laughter*] He was for the war and against the war, for the war and against the war. But his record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong.

When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991 because he had invaded Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing in the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that even his

Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—we've got to be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right.

During the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision for America, my opponent has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of war and in hours of crisis. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he's replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore, and today I want to speak to every one of them: If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I'd be honored to have your support, and I'm asking for your vote.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. We have big differences about how to protect our country's families. I recall that moment in one of our debates when my opponent said that America must submit to a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. As you can tell, that's kind of how I felt too. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, that means our country must get permission from foreign capitals before we act in our own defense. I'll work with our allies, and I'll work with our friends. I believe in building coalitions, and we have done just that. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

We have differences of opinion, clear differences of opinion about this war on terror. Recently, my opponent said that September the 11th didn't change him much at all. That's what he said.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, September the 11th changed me. It changed my view of the world and how we must defend ourselves. I remember standing in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. It's a day that will be forever etched in my memory, the sights and the sounds. I can remember those voices of the workers in hardhats yelling at me, "Whatever it takes." I remember looking in the eye of a fellow who grabbed me by the arm, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that morning—ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to better figure out how to protect America. I will never relent in defending this country, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families, and I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to $1,000 per child to help the moms and dads in America. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes. And we're growing. This economy is getting stronger.

Remind your friends and neighbors as you round them up to go to the polls—[*laughter*]—what we have been through. Six months prior to my arrival in Washington, the stock market was in serious decline, and then we had a recession and corporate scandals. And the attacks of September the 11th cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months following that fateful day.

But our policies are working. We're on the path to growth. This economy is as strong as it's been in nearly 20 years. The homeownership rate is at an alltime high in America. More minority families own a home all across this country than anywhere at any time in our history. Minnesota farmers are making a living. The farm economy is strong in America. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. Small businesses are flourishing all across America. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. And let me put that in perspective for you: It's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. And the unemployment rate in Minnesota is 4.6 percent. We are strong, and we will get stronger.

My opponent has different plans for your budget. He's going to take a big chunk out of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You know, he voted against the child tax credit. He voted against marriage penalty relief. He voted against lower taxes. If he'd have had his way, the average family in Minnesota would be paying $2,000 more per year in Federal taxes.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, that probably doesn't seem like a lot to some of them in Washington, but I understand it's a lot for the families in this part of the world. It means a lot to people trying to raise their children. It means a lot to people struggling to put food on the table and meet their expenses.

He's been in the Senate 20 years; he has voted to raise taxes 98 times. That's five times for every year in the Senate. I would call that a leading indicator—[*laughter*]—a predictable pattern. [*Laughter*] If you put that in this context, he promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. Now, that's trillion with a "T." That's a lot. Even for a Senator from Massachusetts, that's a lot. [*Laughter*] And so they asked him, "How are you going to pay for it?" And he said, "Well, we'll just tax the rich." You have heard that before.

First of all, most small businesses around Minnesota and around the country pay tax at the individual income-tax level. See, most small businesses are Subchapter S or sole proprietorships. And by the way, 70 percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses. And so when you raise the top two brackets, you're taxing job creators. It makes no economic sense to tax the entities that are creating the new jobs in our country.

And secondly, he has promised 2.2 trillion, but raising the top two brackets only raises between 600 and 800 billion. That's what I would call a tax gap, the difference between what is promised and what's delivered. Given his record, I think you understand how he's going to fill that tax gap. Yes, he's going to tax you. But we're not going to let him; we will carry Minnesota and win next Tuesday.

The third clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. A good education and quality health care are important to a successful life. As candidate, I pledged to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. And I kept my word. I proudly signed the No Child Left Behind Act to raise the standards. See, we believe every child can learn, and we expect every school to teach.

We're spending more money at the Federal level, and in return, we expect measurement. See, you cannot solve a problem until you diagnose the problem. And as a result of the law we put in place, we are now diagnosing and solving problems. Math and reading scores are up across America, and we are closing an achievement gap for minority students. And we will not go back to the days of low expectations and mediocrity in our schools.

We will continue to improve life for our families by making health care available and affordable. We will take care of the poor and the indigent by expanding community health centers. We have a duty to help people who cannot help themselves. And that's why we'll make sure our program for children of low-income families is fully subscribed, to make sure people get the health care and the help they need. But I also recognize that most of the uninsured in America work for small businesses. And to help small businesses better afford insurance, we must allow them to pool risk across jurisdictional boundaries so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will expand health savings accounts to help our small businesses and families.

And to make sure health care is available and affordable, we will do something about the junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine and running too many doctors out of practice. We have a problem in this Nation. I have met too many ob-gyns that no longer practice because the premiums are too high. See, they can't afford to stay in practice. These lawsuits are driving them out of practice. I met too many patients, expectant moms who are traveling miles to find an ob-gyn, and they are deeply concerned about the quality of health care that they and their little one will receive. This is a national problem, and it requires a national solution. You cannot be pro-doctor and pro-patient and

pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. You have to choose.

My opponent has made his choice. He voted 10 times against medical liability reform, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I've made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors of Minnesota. I'm standing with the patients of Minnesota. I'm standing with the families of Minnesota. I am for medical liability reform.

My opponent has a different view when it comes to health care. In one of the debates, I remember the questioner said, "Tell me about your health care plan." He looked square in the camera, and he said, "My health care plan, well, the Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*]

The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people, according to his plan, would be signed up by the Government. If you raise Medicaid and make it easier for people to get on Medicaid, it provides an incentive for small businesses to stop writing insurance because the Government will write the insurance. And when the Government writes the checks, the Government makes the rules. And when the Government makes the rules for your health care, the Government makes decisions for you and they make decisions for your doctors. The wrong prescription for American families is to federalize health care.

In all we do to improve health care for our families, we will make sure that the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Medicare needed to be modernized for our seniors. We would pay thousands of dollars for a heart surgery under Medicare but not a dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. And that wasn't fair to our seniors. So I brought people together, and I proudly signed a Medicare reform bill that will make prescription drugs available for all our seniors beginning in 2006.

And we will keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and we will strengthen Social Security for years to come. I want you to tell your friends and neighbors about what took place in the 2000 campaign. You might remember those ads and the fliers when people said, "If George W. gets elected, the seniors will not get their checks." Well, tell them George W. did get elected, and the seniors got their checks. And the seniors will continue to get their checks. And baby boomers like me and a couple others out there I'm looking at—[*laughter*]—will get their checks. The Social Security trust is in good shape for us.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether or not the Social Security system will be available when they need it. And that's why I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account that will earn a better rate of return, an account they own, an account the Government can never take away.

My opponent takes a little different point of view on this. First, he said he'd protect Social Security, but he forgot to tell the American people he's voted eight times to tax Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. See, he can run from his record, but we're not going to let him hide. And he has offered nothing to help the younger generation when it comes to strengthening Social Security. See, the job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future generations and future Presidents. I'm going to bring people together, and we will work to make sure the Social Security system is strong and viable for generations to come.

The fifth clear choice in this election involves the values that are crucial for our Nation. We stand for things. We stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. We stand for

marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I'll reach out to Americans of every belief and move this good-hearted Nation toward a culture of life. We believe in a culture of life. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion.

My opponent—Senator Kerry has had a different view on these issues. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act and, at one time in his campaign, actually said that the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. The heart and soul of America is found in communities all across the great State of Minnesota.

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. And the decision is in the best of hands. It is in the hands of the American people. In less than 72 hours, the American people will be voting, and the decision comes down to who do you trust.

Audience members. You!

The President. I stand—I offer leadership and results for a time of threat and challenge. I'm asking for people's votes. I'm asking for their trust. I'm asking for your help. I have a view of the future that is bright. I see clearly where I want to lead this country, and it is to a better day.

One of my favorite quotes was written by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for America. I see a day when prosperity reaches every corner of our country. I see a day where every child can read and write and add and subtract. And I see a day in which this world becomes more peaceful by spreading liberty, that we achieve the peace we all want for our children and for our grandchildren.

When I campaigned across your State 4 years ago, I made this pledge: If I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thank you all for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:17 p.m. at the Target Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California; Mike Tice, head coach, Minnesota Vikings, National Football League; Minnesota State Auditor Patricia Anderson; former Senator Rudy Boschwitz; entertainer Billy Dean; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Orlando, Florida

October 30, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. Laura and I really thank you for taking time out of your Saturday evening to come by and lift our spirits, and we're grateful for your presence. We're going to carry Florida with your help.

Perhaps the most important reason to put me back in office is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. Look, I readily concede he doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. People of Orlando will be pleased to know I didn't pick him up—pick him because of his hair. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his judgment. I picked him because of his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

We are some kind of proud in my family of brother Jeb. We share the same campaign consultant: Mother. [*Laughter*] We're both listening to her. Also proud my brother Marvin Bush is with us today. Thank you for coming, big Marv.

I want to thank the Lieutenant Governor, Toni Jennings, Attorney General Charlie Crist, Congressman Ric Keller, Congressman Tom Feeney. I want to thank Rich Crotty. I want to thank my friend Mel Martinez. Put him in the Senate; he'll do a great job. I want to thank Mark Wills. I want to thank Shawn Michaels, professional wrestler. I was hoping to see him backstage—if I could ask him if it was real. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all the grassroots activists who are here. I want to thank you for putting

up the signs, making the phone calls. I know how much work went into putting this great rally together. I thank you for what you have done, and I want to thank you for what you're going to do as we're coming down the stretch run. I need your help. I need your work. We will carry Florida and win a great victory on November the 2d.

My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and taught me some new ones. I have learned to expect the unexpected, because war and emergency can arrive suddenly on a quiet autumn morning. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even when the cause is right. I've been grateful for the lessons I've learned from our parents: Respect every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. I have been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

I know how a President needs to lead. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift in the wind. A President has to make tough decisions and stand by them. The American President must not follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based on principle and conviction and conscience. Especially in a time of war, mixed signals only confuse our friends and embolden our enemies. Mixed signals are the wrong signals for an American President to send.

In the last 4 years, Americans have learned a few things about me as well. Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my dad. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand and where I'm going to lead this Nation.

You can't—you cannot say that about my opponent. I think it's fair to say that consistency is not his long suit. Next Tuesday, the American people will vote for conviction and consistency. And with your help, we're going to win this election.

This election comes down to five choices for your family. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. Americans will go to the polls Tuesday in a time of war and ongoing threats. The terrorists who killed thousands of innocent people are still dangerous, and they're determined to strike. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people.

If America shows——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. If America shows uncertainty or weakness in these troubling times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We've strengthened the protections for the homeland. We're reforming our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming our military. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. There will be no draft. We are relentless. We are steadfast. We are determined. We will fight the terrorists across the globe so we do not have to face them here at home.

Because we led, the world is changing. Afghanistan is a free nation and an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders. Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons program. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. And more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

We will use every asset at our disposal to protect the American people. And one of the best assets we have is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform society. I want the younger Americans here to realize what has happened in a brief period of time. Three-and-a-half years ago, young girls couldn't go to school in Afghanistan because the Taliban were so barbaric and backwards. And if their mothers didn't toe the ideological line of hatred, they were taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes to a sports stadium and executed. Because we acted in our own interest, because we upheld the doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people voted in the Presidential election in Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Freedom is powerful. Iraq is still dangerous, but Iraq will be having elections in January. Think how far that country has come. It is in our interests, it is in our children's interests that we promote liberty and freedom around the world. I believe everybody yearns to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

A President must lead with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes your tactics change but never your principles. And you have seen how I do my job. On good days and on bad days, when the polls are up or the polls are down, I am determined to protect the American people. And I will always support the United States military. I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform who are here today. I want to thank the military families who are here today. And I want to thank the veterans who have set such a great example for those who wear the uniform.

We will support our troops in harm's way. That's why I went to the United States Congress in September of 2003 and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding. This was necessary support. We had troops in Afghanistan and in Iraq. We received great support for that piece of legislation, so strong only 12 Members of the United States Senate opposed the funding for our troops in harm's way.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Two of those twelve were my opponent and his runningmate. But I want to tell you another statistic.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Let me tell you one more statistic. There were only four Members of the Senate who voted to authorize force and then did—voted against supporting our troops in harm's way—only four Members, two of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. So they asked him several times why he made the vote he made. One of those answers was perhaps the most famous quote of the 2004 campaign when he said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it."

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. I have spent enough time in the great State of Florida to know not a people—not a lot of people talk that way here. [*Laughter*] He's given several explanations since, but I think the most revealing explanation of all about his vote against supporting our troops was when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." There is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Senator Kerry's record on national security has a far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein to get him out of Kuwait after he invaded Kuwait in 1991, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that his colleague from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, voted against it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—we've got to be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right.

During the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision for America, Senator Kerry has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman, of John Kennedy is rightly remembered for

confidence and resolve in times of crisis and in times of conflict. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden." He has replaced those commitments with "wait and see" and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore. Today I want to speak to every Democrat: If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I'm asking for your vote.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. When you're out rounding up the vote, when you're getting people to go to the polls like I know you're going to do, remind them we have big differences as to how to best protect our country and our families. In one of our debates, my opponent said that America must pass a "global test" before we commit our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I know, you're probably thinking I made that up, but I was standing right there pretty close to him when he said it. [*Laughter*] I was just as startled as you are. As far as I can tell, it means our country must get permission from foreign capitals before we act. As President, I will work with our friends. I will strengthen our alliances. But I will never turn over national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

In a recent interview, my opponent said that September the 11th didn't change him much at all. Well, it changed me. It changed me a lot. It gave me—it caused me to think about how to protect America in a different way from the past. I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. It is a day I will never forget. I'll never forget the workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I will never forget the fellow who grabbed me by the arm. He looked me right in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to best protect the American people. I will never relent in the security of this country, whatever it takes.

The second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for the American families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to $1,000 per child, and that helps moms and dads. We reduced the marriage penalty. Our Tax Code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent. We reduced income taxes for everybody who pays income tax. And our economic recovery plan is working.

Remember what we have been through. Six months prior to my arrival in Washington, the stock market was in serious decline. That foretold a recession. We had corporate scandals. And the attacks on America cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months after September the 11th.

But our economic policies are working. Our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The homeownership rate is at an alltime high in America. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. Florida's farmers and ranchers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. The small-business sector of our economy is thriving and doing well. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent, and the unemployment rate in the great State of Florida is 4.5 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has a different plan for your budget. He plans to take a big chunk out of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He's been in the United States Senate for 20 years, and he's voted to raise taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times for every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] During the campaign, he's made some big promises too. He's promised $2.2 trillion of new spending. That is trillion with a "T." That's a lot. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. So they asked him how he's going to pay for it. He said, well, he's just going to tax the rich. We've heard that before. There's a problem with that. If you run up the top two brackets like he says he's

going to do, it raises between 600 and 800 billion dollars. That is far short of the 2.2 trillion. That's called a tax gap. Guess who usually gets to fill the tax gap?

Audience members. We do!

The President. You do. But we're not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Florida and win next Tuesday.

The third choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. A good education and quality health care are important to America's families. As a candidate, I pledged to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. I signed the No Child Left Behind Act and proudly so. It's a great piece of legislation. We increased Federal funding for our schools, particularly for the disadvantaged and special-ed kids, and that's important. But also what's important is to measure. We said, "In return for extra money, show us whether our children can read and write and add and subtract," because we believe every child can read and we believe every school must teach.

You cannot solve a problem unless you diagnose the problem. We're now diagnosing and solving problems all across America, particularly in States like Florida because of your good Governor. We're closing an achievement gap for minority students all across America, and we're not going to go back to the old days of low expectations and mediocrity.

We'll continue to work to make health care more accessible and affordable. We have a duty to take care of those who can't help themselves. That's why I'm such a strong believer in community health centers, places where the poor and the indigent can get good primary and preventative care. I believe and I know we must work with our Governors and mayors to make sure that the program for children from low-income families is fully subscribed so our children can get good health care.

But I also understand that most of the uninsured work for small businesses. And we ought to allow small businesses to pool risk across jurisdictional boundaries so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We'll expand health savings accounts to help our families and small businesses.

And to make sure health care is available and affordable for families all across this country, we will do something about the frivolous and junk lawsuits that are running good doctors out of practice and running up the cost of your health care. We have a national problem when it comes to litigation. I have met too many ob-gyns, some from the State of Florida, that have been run out of their practice because the lawsuits have caused their premiums to be too high. And I have met too many expectant moms that are deeply concerned about the quality of health care they're going to get for themselves and their child. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice.

My opponent made his choice. He's voted against medical liability reform 10 times in the Senate, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have made my choice. I'm standing with Florida's docs and Florida's patients and Florida's families. I'm for medical liability reform—now.

We have a difference of opinion when it comes to health care. In one of those debates, they asked my opponent about his health care plan, and he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people would end up on a Government plan. If you make it easier for people to sign up for Medicaid, it is likely small businesses will stop writing insurance for their employees because the Government will. And that moves people from the private sector to the Government plans. And when the Government writes the checks, the Government makes the rules. And when the Government makes the rules for your health care, the Government starts making decisions for you and decisions for your doctors. Federalizing health care is the wrong prescription for America's families. In all we do to improve health care, we'll make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The fourth clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and to improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. I told the Congress Medicare needed to be modernized. You know, Medicare would pay thousands of dollars for a heart—for heart surgery, but it wouldn't pay one dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That didn't make any sense. So I brought Republicans and Democrats together. We modernized Medicare. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

We'll keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and we will strengthen Social Security for generations to come. Every election, politicians try to scare our seniors and say that they're not going to get their checks if somebody like me gets elected. They said that in 2000. I got elected, and the seniors got their checks. The seniors will always get their checks. Baby boomers like me and like some others I see out there—[*laughter*]—we'll get our checks.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether or not Social Security will be there when they need it. And that is why I think younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account they call their own, an account the Government cannot take away.

My opponent and I take a different approach toward Social Security. He said he's going to protect Social Security, but he forgot to tell the people that he's voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run, but he cannot hide. And when it comes to the next generation, he's offered no reform. The job of the President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. In a new term, I will bring people together to strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

The fifth clear choice in this election is on the values that are important for our country. We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of this society. We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. We stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent has a different point of view. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And at one time in his campaign, he said the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Most of our families don't look to Hollywood as a source of values. The heart and soul of America is found in communities like Orlando, Florida.

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. And the decision is in the best of hands. It is in the hands of the American people.

I've got a clear view of where I want to take this country. I clearly see a better tomorrow. One of my favorite quotes is by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." In the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of his time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for America. I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of our country. I see a day in which every child can read and write and add and subtract. And I see a day that after all the struggle, peace comes, a peace we want for our children and our grandchildren.

You know, when I campaigned across the State of Florida 4 years ago, I made this pledge, that if I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With

your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. at Tinker Field. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush, Lt. Gov. Toni Jennings, and State Attorney General Charlie Crist of Florida; Richard T. Crotty, Orange County chairman; Mel R. Martinez, senatorial candidate in Florida; and country music entertainer Mark Wills.

Remarks in Miami, Florida

October 31, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. We're honored you're here. Thank you all. Thank you for coming. Thank you for being here. Thanks for taking time out of your Sunday morning to come by and say hello. Laura and I are honored you're here. I'm here to ask for your help. You need to get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls. You're voting today; you're voting on Tuesday. Tell your friends and neighbors, in a free society, we have an obligation to vote. Tell them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America *por todos*, to vote for me and Dick Cheney. *Con su apoyo, vamos a ganar.*

The most important reason—perhaps the most important reason to put me back in is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Laura! Laura! Laura!

The President. *Que bella. Que magnifica.*

I want to thank my Vice President, who's working hard. He does not have the waviest hair in this race. I don't want to offend some of you out there who are follically challenged—you'll be happy to hear I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his experience. I picked him because of his judgment. He's getting the job done.

I want to thank my *hermanito*. What a great Governor he is. He loves Miami, and he loves the people of Miami. And I want to thank First Lady Columba Bush for being such a gracious first lady for Florida.

It's really important that when you get in that booth and get your friends to go to the booth to remember there's an important Senate race here in Florida. I'm going to say it as strongly as I can, Mel Martinez is the right man for Florida. And we love Kitty Martinez as well. She's a classy lady.

I want to thank the three Congressmen from this part of the world that are here, starting with the Congresswoman from this district, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, *mi amiga. Y tambien los hermanos*, Diaz-Balart, Lincoln *y* Mario. Thank you all for your steadfast and strong support.

I appreciate Tom Gallagher being here. I want to thank Marco Rubio, who's here with us today.

Listen, there are a lot of Democrats supporting my candidacy. There may be some here. You know the Democrat Party left you; you didn't leave it. And I want to thank Miami Beach Mayor David Dermer, Democrats for Bush. Mr. Mayor, we are proud you're here. Thank you, sir. I want to thank all the other State and local officials.

I know that there are some members of the 1972 Miami Dolphins football team here. Thank you all for coming. You guys haven't aged a bit. [*Laughter*] Thanks for setting such a great example.

I want to thank the grassroots activists. I want to thank you all for putting up the signs. I want to thank you for making the phone calls. No doubt in my mind, we'll carry Florida again and win a great victory on Tuesday.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership. I am ready for the work ahead.

My 4 years as your President has confirmed some lessons, and they've taught me some new ones. I've learned to expect the unexpected because horror can arrive suddenly on a quiet morning. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even if the cause is right. I'm grateful to the lessons I've learned from our parents: Respect for every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled

by its reminder—and I've been humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

The President must lead with clarity and purpose. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift in the wind. A President has to make the tough decisions and stand by them. The role of the President is not to follow the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based upon principle and conviction and conscience, and that is how I will continue to lead this Nation.

During the last 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them. And whatever your shortcomings, the people will notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I am a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I get that from my dad. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe.

And you can't say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. It is fair to say that consistency is not his long suit. [*Laughter*] My opponent looks—I look at an issue, and I take a principled stand. My opponent looks at an issue and tries to take every side. [*Laughter*] The people of Florida know the difference, and Tuesday, Florida will vote for strong leadership based upon conviction and consistency and support the Bush-Cheney ticket.

This election comes down to some clear choices on vital issues facing every American family. The first clear choice concerns your budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent so our working families would have more money in their pocket. The plan is working. Real after-tax income—that's the money you've got to spend—is up about 10 percent since I took office.

Our economy has been through a lot. When you're out gathering up the vote, remind people what the economy has been through. Six months prior to my arrival in Washington, the stock market was in serious decline. Then we had a recession and corporate scandals, and the attacks on our country cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months after the attack, after September the 11th.

But we acted. I led. The tax relief is now leading our economy forward. It's working. America's economy is strong, and it's getting stronger. We added 1.9 million jobs in the last 13 months. The homeownership rate in America is at an alltime high. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. Our farmers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. And the unemployment rate in the great State of Florida is 4.5 percent. Our economic plans are working.

My opponent has got a plan.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. It involves the promises he makes and the money he intends to take. For the Senator from Massachusetts, he's voted to raise taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] In this campaign he's also pledged to spend 2.2 trillion new dollars. That's a lot. That's trillion with a "T." [*Laughter*] That is even—that's a lot for a Senator from Massachusetts. I mean, it's—[*laughter*].

They asked him how he's going to pay for it, and he said he's just going to tax the rich. You've heard that before. By raising the top two brackets, you raise between 600 and 800 billion dollars. That's far short of the 2.2 trillion. That's what we call a tax gap. And guess who gets to fill the tax gap?

Audience members. We do!

The President. Yes, you do. We're not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Florida and win a victory.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I ran for President to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to the

classrooms, and reading and math scores are now on the rise. We're closing an achievement gap for minority students all across America. And we're not going to go back to the old days of low expectations and mediocrity.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts so small businesses can cover their workers and more families are able to save tax-free with health care accounts they manage and call their own. We'll create association health plans so small businesses can join together and buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies can do. We'll help our families by expanding community health centers and making sure every eligible child is enrolled in our low-income health insurance programs.

And we will make sure health care is available and affordable by getting rid of these junk lawsuits that are running the docs out of practice. For the sake of quality health care, we need medical liability reform—now. My vision is for better and more affordable health care where decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has a different approach to these issues. He voted for education reform, but now he wants to weaken the accountability standards.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And he's proposing a big-Government health care plan.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I heard him in the debates—you probably did too—when he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." That's what he said about his plan. I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got everything to do with it. And the wrong prescription for American families is to federalize health care in America.

And when it comes to these lawsuits, my opponent has voted against medical liability reform not once but 10 times. And he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run, but he cannot hide.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. We made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Seniors are already getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. Low-income seniors are getting direct help to pay for prescriptions. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has got a record on this issue. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage. In this campaign, he's promised to repeal the bill, and then he promised to keep it. [*Laughter*]

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. It sounds familiar, doesn't it? He doesn't change positions only on national security issues. [*Laughter*] He also tries to scare seniors about their Social Security. But he forgets to mention that he is the one who voted eight times to raise taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run from that record——

Audience members. But he cannot hide!

The President. I've kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors. I will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. We need to worry about whether the system will be there when they need it. That's why I believe younger workers ought to take some of their personal payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account they call their own.

The fourth clear choice——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. The fourth choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for appointing

judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He said there would be a litmus test when it came to appointing judges. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. [*Laughter*] He can——

[*At this point, there was an interruption in the audience.*]

The President. Yes, he can run from being the most liberal Senator——

Audience members. *Viva Bush! Viva Bush! Viva Bush!*

The President. The final choice in this election is most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubled times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We've strengthened protections for the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We're transforming the army. We will have no draft; the army will remain an all-volunteer army. We are staying on the offensive. We're chasing the terrorists around the globe. We will find them and bring them to justice so we do not have to face them here at home.

Pakistan was—we're making progress. Every day, we're making progress. Afghanistan is now an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi are making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. An army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. And Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We shut down its camps. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network around the world. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida have been brought to justice, and the rest of them know we're on their trail.

My opponent has taken a different approach—except when he hadn't. [*Laughter*] Here again, consistency has not been his long suit. The Commander in Chief must be consistent in this dangerous world. Senator Kerry says that we're better off with Saddam Hussein out of power—except when he says that removing Saddam made us less safe.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He said in our second debate that he always believed Saddam was a threat—except, a few questions later, when he insisted Saddam Hussein was not a threat.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He says he was right when he voted to authorize the use of force against Saddam Hussein, but that I was wrong to use force against Saddam Hussein.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. The problem with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year flip-flops. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against crucial weapons systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

Only a year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, cuts so extreme that even his fellow Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, voted against the cuts.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown Senator Kerry was wrong—and let's be generous about this—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

Just one year ago, I went to the Congress and proposed $87 billion in funding to support our troops in combat. The Commander in Chief must support our troops in harm's way.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. Prior to the vote, on national TV, Senator Kerry said it would be irresponsible to vote against the troops.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*] [*Laughter*]

The President. And then he did the irresponsible thing: He voted against the troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame—[*laughter*]—by saying, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] He's given several explanation since then, but the most revealing—perhaps the most revealing is when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. The differences on how we'll defend our families are significant. My opponent said in one of the debates that America must pass a "global test."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. I heard him. So did you. We'll work with our friends and allies, but I will never, ever turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Recently, my opponent said September the 11th "didn't change him much at all," end quote. Well, September the 11th changed me. My eyes are wide open to the realities of this world. I fully understand my duty to protect the American people. A few days after the attacks of September the 11th, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. I will never forget the sights and sounds of that day, workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the man grabbed me by the arm. He looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day—from that day forward, I've gotten up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

We will use all the assets at our disposal to protect America. We will wage a relentless, comprehensive campaign to protect you. And one of the most powerful, powerful assets we have is freedom. We believe in the power of liberty to transform societies. Free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror.

Think about what has happened in Afghanistan in a relatively brief period of time. It wasn't all that long ago that young girls couldn't go to school and their mothers were taken into the public square and whipped because the ideologues of hate, the Taliban, had such a dim view of the world. Because we acted in our self-interest, because we upheld the doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you are equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people went to the polls in Afghanistan to vote for their President. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Iraq is dangerous, but it's moving toward elections. There will be elections in January. Think about how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march, and America and the world are better for it.

And over the next 4 years, we will continue to press hard and ensure that the gift of freedom finally reaches the men and women of Cuba.

Audience members. *Viva Bush! Viva Bush! Viva Bush!*

The President. We will not rest—we will not rest. We will keep the pressure on until the Cuban people enjoy the same freedoms in Havana they receive here in America. I strongly believe the people of Cuba should be free from the tyrant. I believe that everybody yearns to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

My fellow citizens, these are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. Ultimately, this election comes down to who can you trust.

Audience members. You!

The President. I offer a record of leadership and results in a time of challenge, and I ask for your vote.

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can expand and our economy can continue to create new jobs, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools and parents and doctors—patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for the next generation, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor family and marriage and make a place for the weak and vulnerable, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your great party has turned too far left in this year, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, if you're tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you, come stand with me.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. When I traveled your State 4 years ago, I made this pledge, that if I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help—*con su apoyo*, I will do so for 4 more years.

Gracias. Vamos a ganar. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. at the Coconut Grove Expo Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush and First Lady Columba Bush of Florida; Mel R. Martinez, senatorial candidate in Florida, and his wife, Kitty; Tom Gallagher, chief financial officer, Florida Department of Financial Services; Florida State Representative Marco Rubio; and President Fidel Castro of Cuba.

Remarks in Tampa, Florida

October 31, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. We really appreciate you coming out on a Sunday afternoon. I'm here to ask for your vote, and I'm here to ask for your help. Find your friends and neighbors and tell them we have a duty to vote, and get them going to the polls. Turn the Republicans out. Turn the independents out. Find discerning Democrats like my friend the former mayor of Tampa, who is a Bush supporter, Dick Greco, like Senator Zell Miller from Georgia. When you get them going to the polls, tell them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason why you should put me back in is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Laura! Laura! Laura!

The President. I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I readily concede he doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] You'll be happy to hear I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his experience. I picked him because of his judgment. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I am proud of your Governor, my brother Jeb Bush. He is doing a fabulous job. We both share the same campaign consultant: Mother. [*Laughter*] My brother Marvin is with us too, and I want to thank Marv for coming. He's the good-looking one. [*Laughter*]

I'm proud to be introduced by General Norman Schwarzkopf, a great American and a great general. I want to thank his daughter, Jessica, for joining us today. I want to thank my friend Congressman Mike Bilirakis for being here today. I want to thank Congressman Adam Putnam for being here today. I want to thank the Lieutenant Governor and the attorney general for being with us today. I want to urge you, when you go to the polls, make sure you vote for Mel Martinez as the United States Senator. And I appreciate his

wife, Kitty, joining us. I want to thank my friend Mayor Greco for joining us. I want to thank Mel Tillis for being here. Mel, I'm proud you're here. Tino Martinez—how good does that get? Thanks for coming, Tino.

I want to thank all the grassroots activists who are here, the people putting up the signs, the people making the phone calls. I want to thank you for what you have done. I want to thank you for what you're going to do over the next 48 hours. You're going to turn out the vote. We'll win Florida again and win a great victory in November.

This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course in the war on terror and the direction of our economy. This country needs strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I'm ready for the job.

My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and taught me some new ones. I have learned to expect the unexpected because horror can arrive quietly—quickly on a quiet morning. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even when the cause is right. I'm grateful for the lessons I've learned from my parents: Respect every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. And I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift with the wind. The President has to make tough decisions and stand by them. The role of a President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based on principle, conviction, and conscience.

During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them. And whatever your shortcomings are, the people will notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I am a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead.

You can't say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. It is fair to say that consistency is not his long suit. I look at an issue and take a principled stand. My opponent looks at an issue and tries to take every side. And the people of Florida know the difference. And Tuesday, Florida will vote for strong, consistent, convicted—conviction and new—and our leadership. Florida will go to the polls and make sure that Bush-Cheney has got 4 more years.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. This election comes down to some clear choices on vital issues for American families. The first clear choice concerns your family budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent so working families can have more money to spend. As a result of these policies, real after-tax income—that would be money in your pocket—is up by about 10 percent since I took office.

We've been through a lot. When you're out rounding up the vote, remind people that the stock market was in serious decline 6 months prior to my arrival. Then we had a recession and corporate scandals and the attack on our country that cost us a million jobs in 3 months.

But we acted. And because we acted, our economy is growing again. We're creating new jobs. Our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. Homeownership rate is at an alltime high. More minority families own a home than ever before in our history. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. Small businesses are flourishing. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. And in Florida, the unemployment rate is 4.5 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has an economic plan. It involves the promises he makes and the money he intends to take from you.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He's got a record. He's got a record. He's voted to increase taxes 98 times in the 20 years he was in the Senate. That's five times every year he was in the Senate. That's a predictable pattern. That's a leading indicator. He's also promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. That's trillion with a "T." That's a lot. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts.

They asked him how he's going to pay for it. He said, "Oh, don't worry, we'll just tax the rich." You have heard that before. The problem is, when you raise the top two brackets, you only raise between 600 and 800 billion dollars. That is far short of the 2.2 trillion he has promised. That's a tax gap. Given his record, guess who's going to get to fill the tax gap? You are. We're not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Florida and win on November the 2d.

Second clear choice involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I ran for President to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I have kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to our classrooms. Reading and math scores are on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap by helping our minority students. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them still to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We will expand health savings accounts so more small businesses can cover their workers and more families are able to save tax-free for health care accounts they manage and call their own. We will expand association health plans to help small businesses. They should be allowed to join together to share risk so they can buy insurance at the same discounts big companies do. We will expand community health centers to help the poor and the indigent, and we'll make sure every eligible child is enrolled in our low-income health insurance program.

And to make sure health care is available and affordable, we will do something about the junk lawsuits that are running good doctors out of practice and running up the cost of health care. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to reform health care, the decisions will be made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has a different approach. He voted for education reform but now wants to weaken the accountability standards. He has proposed a big-Government health care plan. You might remember one of our debates when he looked square in the camera and said—when they asked him about his health care plan, he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people would be signed up to a Government program under his plan. Eight million Americans would lose their private health insurance and end up on a Government program. He's voted against medical liability reform 10 times. He put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Federalizing health care is the wrong prescription for American families. He can run, but he cannot hide.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Seniors are already getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. Low-income seniors are getting direct help to pay for prescription drugs. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has a record. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage. Remind your friends and neighbors of that when they're headed to the polls. In this campaign, he promised to repeal the Medicare bill, and then he's promised to keep it. Sounds familiar, doesn't it?

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. He tries to scare seniors about their Social Security. But he forgot to mention he's the one who voted to tax Social Security benefits eight times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and I will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors.

But I also know the job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. That's why in a new term, I'll work with members of both political parties to make sure the Social Security system is strengthened for a younger generation to come.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. And I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortions. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He said he would only appoint judges who pass a liberal litmus test. He was part of the extreme minority who voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from that liberal record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubling times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We're strengthening our homeland. We're reforming and strengthening the intelligence capabilities. We will transform our military. There will be no draft. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. We are steadfast. We are determined. We are staying on the offensive so we do not have to face the terrorists here at home.

And we're making progress. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons program. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. Al Qaida no longer controls territory like it did in Afghanistan. We have shut down its camps. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice. And the rest of them know we're on their trail.

My opponent has taken a different approach—except when he hadn't. [*Laughter*] Consistency is not his long suit, as I mentioned. Senator Kerry says we're better off with Saddam out of power—except when he said that removing Saddam made us less safe. He said in our second debate that he always believed Saddam was a threat—except, a few questions later, when he insisted Saddam Hussein was not a threat. He says he was right when he voted to authorize the use force against Saddam Hussein but I was wrong to use force against Saddam Hussein.

The problems with—the problem with my opponent's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed President Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When President—when former President Bush assembled an international coalition led by General Norman Schwarzkopf to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

One year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence. The cuts were so extreme that even his fellow Massachusetts Senator, Ted Kennedy, voted against them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—let's be fair—Senator Kennedy was right.

I know there are some members of the military with us today, and I want to thank you for your dedication. I want to thank you for your service. I want to thank the military families who are with us today. And I want to thank the veterans who have joined us today. I want to thank our veterans for having set such a great example to those who wear our Nation's uniform. And I want to assure you like I've assured families all across our country, we will make sure our troops have that which they need to complete their missions.

That is why I went to the United States Congress last September—September of 2003—and asked for $87 billion in funding to support our troops in both Afghanistan and Iraq. On national TV, my opponent said it would be irresponsible to vote against the troops. And then he did the irresponsible thing and he voted against the funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying, quote, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it."

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. He's given several answers since then, but perhaps the most illustrative is when he said, "The whole thing is a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

We have a difference of opinion on how to protect our families. You might remember in one of the debates, my opponent said there must be a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. I heard him loud and clear. As far as I can tell, that means America must submit to the will of others before we defend ourselves. Listen, I'll work to build alliances. I will strengthen our coalitions. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

My opponent was—recently said that September the 11th didn't change him much at all. Well, September the 11th changed me. It changed my outlook about what we need to do to protect the American people. I remember standing in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. I remember the sights and sounds of that day. There were workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the man who grabbed me by the arm. He looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to better figure—figure out how to better protect the American people. I will never relent in defending our country, whatever it takes.

We will use all our assets to protect the American people. We will wage a comprehensive strategy to protect you. Perhaps the biggest asset we have of all is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform nations. Free nations do not breed resentment and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror.

Think about what's happening in Afghanistan in a relatively brief period of time. I want the youngsters to hear what life was like in that country 3½ years ago. Young girls couldn't go to school. And if their mothers didn't toe the line of the ideologues of hate, they were taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes killed in a sports stadium.

Because we acted in our self-defense, because we upheld a doctrine that I clearly laid out that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of citizens in Afghanistan voted in a Presidential election. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Iraq is dangerous. It's dangerous because Iraq is heading toward a free society. There will be Presidential elections in January. Think how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march, and America is more secure for it. I believe that everybody yearns to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

These are historic times, and there is a lot at stake in this election. The future and safety—the future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. Ultimately, this election

comes down to who do you trust—who do you trust to lead this Nation? I offer a record of leadership and results at a time of threat and challenge.

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay their bills and small businesses can create new jobs, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of the health care system, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for the generations to come, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you're a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of faith and family, if you are tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the American President should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Four years ago, when I traveled your State, I made this pledge, that if I won the election, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

Thanks for coming. On to victory. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:35 p.m. at Legends Field. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush, Lt. Gov. Toni Jennings, and State Attorney General Charlie Crist of Florida; Mel R. Martinez, senatorial candidate in Florida, and his wife, Kitty; country music entertainer Mel Tillis; Tino Martinez, first baseman, Tampa Bay Devil Rays, Major League Baseball; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Gainesville, Florida

October 31, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. So Jeb said, "Why don't we go to Gainesville? Maybe a couple hundred will show up and say hello." I said, "Well, I'm more than willing to go." I can't thank you all enough for coming. Thanks for taking time out of your Sunday afternoon. You're lifting our spirits, and we appreciate it.

I'm here to ask for your vote and your help. I'm here to ask you to take your friends and neighbors to the polls. Remind them we have a duty in our free country to vote. We have an obligation, in my judgment, to participate in our democratic system. Now, when you're lining up votes, of course look for our fellow Republicans and independents, but don't forget to get discerning Democrats to go to the polls, people like Senator Zell Miller from right north of here. And when you get them headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason of all to put me back in is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Laura! Laura! Laura!

The President. I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I don't want to offend anybody here who's follically challenged, but I readily concede my runningmate doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] But I suspect the people of north-central Florida are going to be pleased to know I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment. I picked him because of his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I'm proud of brother Jeb. What a great Governor, and what a great brother. Jeb and I share the same campaign consultant: Mother. [*Laughter*] And my brother Marvin is with us too. I'm proud Marv is here. Thanks for coming, Marvin. I love my family, and I'm glad that—I'm a fortunate man to have such a great family.

Listen, I want to urge you, when you go to the polls, to vote for Mel Martinez for the next Senator of your State. I know him well. He'll make a great United States Senator for Florida. I want to thank Congressman Cliff Stearns for joining us today. He does a great job for the people of this part of the world. I want to thank all the other candidates, people running for office. I want to thank Carole Jean Jordan and all the grassroots activists who are here.

I want to thank the Bellamy Brothers for being here. I'm proud to call them friend. I'm glad they are here.

I want to thank you for what you have done. It takes a lot of work to turn out a crowd this big. I want to thank you for what you're going to do: Call your friends; call your neighbors; turn them out. We'll carry Florida again and win a great victory on Tuesday.

This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I am ready for the work ahead.

My 4 years as your President have confirmed some lessons and have taught me some new ones. I've learned to expect the unexpected, because war can arrive quietly on a quiet morning. I have learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle, even when the cause is right. I am grateful for the lessons I've learned from my parents: Respect every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. I have been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story.

I've learned how crucial it is for the American President to lead with clarity and purpose. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift with the wind. A President should make the tough decisions and stand by them. The role of a President is not to follow the path of the latest polls; the role of a President is to lead based on principle and conviction and conscience.

During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, people will notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all the time, no matter whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead.

You cannot say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I think it is fair to say that consistency is not his strong suit. I look at an issue and take a principled stand. As we've learned in this campaign, my opponent looks at an issue and tries to take every side. The people of Florida know the difference. And on Tuesday, Florida will vote for strong leadership and send me and Dick Cheney back to Washington.

This election comes down to clear choices on five vital issues, issues facing every family in our country. The first clear choice concerns your family budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for our families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent. And as a result of these good policies, real after-tax income—the money in your pocket, the money you have available for spending—is up by about 10 percent since I took office.

And this economy of ours has been through a lot. The stock market was in serious decline 6 months prior to my arrival. Then we had a recession and corporate scandals and an attack on our country that cost us a million jobs in 3 months after September the 11th.

But we acted. And our policies are paying off. Our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million jobs in the last 13 months. Homeownership rate is at an alltime high. More minority families own a home than ever before in our history. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. Our small businesses are flourishing. Florida's farmers and ranchers are making a good living. The unemployment rate is 5.4 percent across this country. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's

lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. The unemployment rate in the great State of Florida is 4.5 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has an economic plan too. He voted to increase taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's in 20 years. That's five times a year, nearly. I would call that a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. In this campaign, he's also promised $2.2 trillion of new spending. That is trillion with a "T." That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*]

They asked him how he's going to pay for it. He threw out that same old, tired line, "We're going to tax the rich." By raising the top two brackets, you raise between 6 and 800 billion dollars. That's far short of the 2.2 trillion. There is a tax gap. And given his record, guess who he's going to ask to fill it? You. The good news is, we're not going to let him tax you; we will carry Florida and win on November the 2d.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I ran for President to challenge and end the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to the classrooms of America. Math and reading scores are up. We're closing an achievement gap for minority students across this country. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We will continue to improve our lives for our families by making health care more available and affordable. We'll expand health savings accounts. We will allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We'll help our families in need. We'll help patients and doctors by getting rid of the frivolous and junk lawsuits that are running docs out of practice and running up your medicine. I'm standing with the families of Florida. I'm standing with the doctors of Florida. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to improve the health care for our families, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has a different approach. He voted for the education reform but now wants to weaken the accountability standards. He's proposing a big-Government health care plan. You might remember in the debate, they said, "Talk about your health care plan." He looked straight in the camera, and he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people on his plan end up on a Government plan. He's voted against medical liability reform 10 times. He's put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Seniors are getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. Low-income seniors are getting help to pay for their prescription. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage through Medicare.

My opponent has a record on this issue. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage. In this campaign, he said he promised to repeal the bill, and then shortly thereafter, he promised to keep it. That sounds familiar. He also tries to scare our seniors about their Social Security, but he conveniently forgets that he's the one that voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits. He can run, but he cannot hide.

I've kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and I will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. But I understand we have a problem for the younger generation coming up. Baby boomers, like me and some others I see out there, are in pretty good shape when it comes to Social Security, but we need to worry about the younger folks. That's why I believe

younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, a personal savings account they call their own. In a new term, I'll bring people together to strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

The fourth clear choice in this elections are on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person counts and every being matters. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He said he would only appoint judges who pass his liberal litmus test. He was part of an extreme minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act, and he voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from his liberal record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important one of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubled times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We are strengthening protections for the homeland. We are reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming the United States military. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. There will be no draft. We are determined. We are relentless. We will stay on the offensive. We are fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

And we're succeeding. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom, and Al Qaida no longer controls territory like Afghanistan. They no longer have training camps there. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice, and the rest of them know we are on their trail.

The leader must be consistent. The leader must not send mixed signals to the world. My opponent has taken a different approach. Senator Kerry says that we're better off with Saddam Hussein out of power, except when he says that removing Saddam made us less safe. He said in our second debate that he always believed Saddam was a threat, except a few questions later, when he insisted Saddam Hussein was not a threat. He said he was right when he voted to authorize the use of force against Saddam Hussein, but I was wrong to use force to remove Saddam Hussein.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. The problems of Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

One year after the bombing—the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence, so massive that even his fellow Massachusetts liberal, Ted Kennedy, would not support them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—let's be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right.

We will be relentless; we will be strong; we will be consistent in our security, in securing this country. And we've got a great United States military to help. I thank those who wear our Nation's uniform who are with us today. I thank the military families who are here with us today. And I thank the veterans who have set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. I assure you, we'll keep our commitment I made to the troops and their families and to our vets. We will make sure our troops have all the resources they need to complete their missions.

That is why I went to the Congress in September of 2003 and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding. It was important funding. It was necessary funding. It was funding to support troops in harm's way in both Iraq and Afghanistan. And we received great bipartisan support for that funding, so strong only 12 members of the United States Senate voted against it, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Senator Kerry said on national TV prior to that vote that it would be irresponsible to vote against the troops. Then the polls began to change. And he did the irresponsible thing, and he voted against the troops. Then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it." He's given a lot of answers since then about that vote, but I think the most revealing of all is when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow Americans, there's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

We have differences on how to best protect America's families. During one of the debates, my opponent said that America must pass a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Some of you probably think I'm making that up. I heard him. He was standing right there. You see, to me that means that we've got to get permission before we get troops. I'll work with our allies. I'll continue to build alliances. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. A couple of weeks ago, Senator Kerry said that September the 11th didn't change him much at all. September the 11th changed me. It changed my outlook about what we need to do to protect this country. A few days after that attack, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers, on September the 14th, 2001. It was a day I'll never forget. I'll never forget the sights and sounds. I will never forget the workers in hardhats who were yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I'll never forget the person that grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect this country. I will never relent in the security of America, whatever it takes.

During the next 4 years——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. During the next 4 years, we will use every asset at our disposal to wage a comprehensive strategy to defend you. And perhaps the strongest asset we have is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform nations. Free nations do not breed resentments. Free nations do not export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. And by spreading freedom, we'll achieve the peace we all want for our children and our grandchildren.

I want the younger folks here to think about what's happened in Afghanistan in just 3 years. Society there was grim under the reign of the Taliban. These people were ideologues of hate. Young girls couldn't go to school. If their mothers didn't toe the line, they'd get whipped in the public square and sometimes executed in a sports stadium. But because we acted to defend ourselves, because we upheld a doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people in that country went to the polls to vote for President. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Iraq is still dangerous. It's a dangerous place because that country is headed toward a free society. There will be elections in January. Think how far that country has come

from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march, and America and the world are better for it. I believe everybody yearns to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

These are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. Ultimately, though, this election comes down to who you can trust—who you can trust to keep your families secure, who you can trust to spread prosperity. I proudly offer a record of leadership and results at a time of threat and challenge.

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can create new jobs, I ask, come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask, come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe that free enterprise and good schools and enduring values of family and faith, and if you're tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Four years ago, when I traveled your State asking for the vote, I made a pledge that if elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

Thanks for coming. God bless. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. at the University Air Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida; Carole Jean Jordan, chairman, Republican Party of Florida; country music entertainers the Bellamy Brothers; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Cincinnati, Ohio

October 31, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. I am here to ask for your vote, and I am here to ask for your help. We have come to the great city of Cincinnati, Ohio, asking for you to turn your friends and neighbors out to the polls on Tuesday. With your help, we will carry Ohio again and win a great victory on Tuesday.

Perhaps the most important reason of all to put me back into office is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I admit it, he does not have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] You all will be happy to know I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment, his experience. He's getting the job done for the American people.

I want to thank one of Cincinnati's great citizens, Johnny Bench, for having introduced me today. We can judge a person by the company he keeps, and I'm keeping good company up here on this stage. I'm proud you're here, Johnny. Thank you very much.

I'm proud to be here with some elected officials from the great State of Ohio. Governor Bob Taft and First Lady Hope Taft are with us. Thank you for coming. Senator Mike DeWine. Senator George Voinovich is out campaigning, but put him back into office for 6 more years.

I'm proud to be here with Senator Jim Bunning from Kentucky, and I hope the citizens of Kentucky put him back into office. And we love Mary as well.

Steve Chabot, the Congressman from this district, is with us. Congressman, thank you.

My friend Congressman Rob Portman is with us tonight. Thank you for being here, Rob.

The Lieutenant Governor from Ohio, Jennette Bradley, is with us. State Treasurer Joe "Write in My Name" Deters is with us. I want to thank Betty Montgomery. I want to thank all the State and local officials. I want to thank Mike Sodrel, who is from the Indiana Ninth Congressional District. I strongly support Mike's bid for the United States Congress. And I strongly support the bid of Geoff Davis from Kentucky's Fourth Congressional District.

I want to thank my friend Anthony Munoz for being here today. I'm proud to call him friend. Marty Brennaman. I want to thank my friend Larry Gatlin and brother Rudy for joining us today. Yes. I want to thank the Wil Gravatt Band.

But most of all, I want to thank you all. I want to thank the people who have been putting up the signs and making the phone calls and doing all the hard work. You're turning out this vote on Tuesday.

This election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I am ready to get the job done for 4 more years.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. My 4 years as your President confirmed some lessons and taught some new ones. I've learned to expect the unexpected. I've learned firsthand how hard it is to send young men and women into battle. I am grateful for the lessons I have learned from my parents: Respect every person; do your best; live every day to its fullest. I've been strengthened by my faith and humbled by its reminder that every life is part of a larger story. I understand how crucial it is for the American President to lead with clarity and purpose. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift with the wind. A President has to make tough decisions and stand by them.

The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of a President is to lead based on principle and conviction and conscience. During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you are going to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, people will notice them. Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my dad. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead.

You cannot say that about my opponent.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I think it's fair to say that consistency is not his strong suit. [*Laughter*] I look at an issue and take a principled stand. My opponent looks at an issue and tries to take every side. And the people of Ohio know the difference. And that's one of the reasons why on Tuesday we're going to carry your great State.

This election comes down to clear choices on five vital issues facing every American family. The first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes. As a result of these good policies, real after-tax income—the money in your pocket to spend on groceries or house payments or rent—is up 10 percent since I took office.

When you're out there convincing your friends and neighbors to vote, remind them what our economy has been through. Six months prior to my arrival in Washington, the stock market was in serious decline. And then we faced the recession and corporate scandals and an attack on our country that cost us a million jobs in just 3 months after the attack.

But we acted. Our economy is creating jobs and growing faster than any major economy in the world. We've added—homeownership rate is at an alltime high in America. More minorities own a home today than ever before in our Nation's history. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. Small businesses are flourishing all across the State of Ohio. Ohio farmers are making a living. We

added more than 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s.

I've traveled your State a lot. I know that in certain areas of this State, people are struggling. But we're making progress. Ohio added 5,500 new jobs last month. Your unemployment rate has gone from 6.3 to 6 percent in one month. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has an economic plan too. He voted to increase taxes 98 times in the 20 years he's been in the United States Senate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a leading indicator—[*laughter*]—a predictable pattern. Couple that with the fact that he's promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending—that's trillion with a "T." That's a lot—[*laughter*]—even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*]

They asked him how he's going to pay for it. He said, "Oh, we'll just tax the rich." The problem is, is that by raising the top two brackets, one, you penalize the small-business sector of this country, and secondly, you only raise between 600 and 800 billion dollars. That's far short of the 2.2 trillion. That's what I would call a tax gap. Given his record, it's not hard to figure out who's going to fill that tax gap. You are. But the good news is, we're not going to let him tax you; we're going to win Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I ran for President to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to the classroom. Math and reading scores are now on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap for minority children all across this country. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts. We'll allow small businesses to join together and buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to buy insurance for. We'll help our families in need by expanding community health centers.

And we will help Ohio families and patients and doctors by getting rid of the frivolous and junk lawsuits that make health care too expensive. In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the medical decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

As you can imagine, my opponent has a different approach. He voted for the education reform but now wants to weaken the accountability standards. He's proposing a big-Government health care plan. I don't know if you remember the debate when they said, "Tell us about your health care plan." And one of the things he said was, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people would end up on the Government plan with his vision. And that is the wrong prescription for American families.

Now, we got a different point of view when it comes to our docs and patients. He voted against medical liability reform 10 times, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run, but he cannot hide.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. Seniors are already getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. Low-income seniors are getting direct help to pay for prescriptions. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has got a record on that. He voted against the Medicare bill that included

prescription drugs. In the campaign, he's promised to repeal the bill, and then shortly thereafter, he promised to keep it. Sounds familiar. He tries to scare seniors about their Social Security. But he forgets to mention that he is the one who voted eight times to raise taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors. And I'll always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. And the Social Security trust is in pretty good shape for baby boomers like me and a couple of other folks I see out there.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. We need to worry about whether or not the Social Security system will be there when they retire. And that is why I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and put it in a personal savings account, an account that earns a better interest, an account they call their own.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. And I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. And I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He said he would only appoint judges who pass a liberal litmus test. He was part of an extreme minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and my opponent sits on the far left bank. [*Laughter*] He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubled times, this world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we've fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We've strengthened protections for the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence services. We're transforming our military. There will be no draft. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. We are fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home. We are determined. We are relentless. And we are succeeding.

Afghanistan is free and is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. And Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We've shut down its camps. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida's known leaders and associates have been brought to justice. And the rest of them know we're on their trail.

And one of the reasons we're protecting America better than we have in the past is because we've got a great United States military. I'm proud to be the Commander in Chief of such a fine group of people. I want to thank the military families who have joined us today for your sacrifices. I want to thank the veterans who are here for having set such a great example to those who wear the uniform. And I assure you, we'll keep our commitment to our troops. We'll make sure they have that which they need to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the United States Congress in September of 2003 and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding. That was vital funding. That was necessary funding. That was important funding. And we received great support. As a matter of fact, only 12 members of the United States Senate voted against that funding, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. On national TV, Senator Kerry said it would be irresponsible to vote against the troops. And then when the vote came around, he did the irresponsible thing and voted against the troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying this—[*laughter*]—"I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it."

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. He's given several explanations for that vote since, but perhaps the most revealing of all was when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Senator Kerry has a pattern of switching positions in this campaign. In the second debate, he said he always believed Saddam Hussein was a threat—except, a few questions later, when he insisted Saddam Hussein was not a threat. He said he was right when he voted to authorize the use of force against Saddam Hussein but that I was wrong to use force against Saddam Hussein.

Yet, the problems with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapon systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate that country.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

Only a year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence, cuts so extreme that his fellow Massachusetts Senator opposed them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we've got to be fair—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

We have big differences about how to protect you, about how to protect America's families. In one of the debates, Senator Kerry said we must be subject to a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] He wasn't standing that far away from me when he said it. [*Laughter*] The best I can tell, my opponent's "global test" means that America must get permission from foreign capitals before taking action to defend our country.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'll build on our alliances. I will work with our friends and allies to protect ourselves and to protect freedom. But I will never submit America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Senator Kerry the other day said that September the 11th didn't change him much. September the 11th changed my outlook. I remember standing in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. It's a day I will never forget. There were workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the first-responder who had just come out of the rubble who grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Don't let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. We will continue to use all our Nation's assets to protect the American people. We will wage a comprehensive strategy to protect you. Perhaps the strongest asset we have is freedom. See, I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies. I believe free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. Freedom will help us keep the peace we all long for for our children.

Think about what's happened in the recent history of the world. It wasn't all that long

ago that young girls couldn't go to school in Afghanistan because that country was run by the barbarians called the Taliban. And if their mothers didn't toe their line of ideological hatred, they would be whipped in the public square and sometimes executed in the sports stadium. But because we acted to defend ourselves, because we acted to uphold a doctrine which said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people went to the polls to vote for a President in Afghanistan. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

Iraq is a dangerous place today because Iraq is moving toward freedom. There will be elections in Iraq in January. And think how far that society has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. Freedom is on the march in this world, and America is more secure because of it. Much of our foreign policy is driven by my deep belief that everybody yearns to be free. See, freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

These are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. But ultimately, this election comes down to who can you trust—who can you trust to provide security for your family? Who can you trust to make sure this economy continues to grow?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can create jobs, I ask, come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that patients and doctors should be in charge of the health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you're tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

In 2000, when I campaigned across the State of Ohio and Indiana and Kentucky, I made this pledge: I said if I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless, and thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:07 p.m. at the Great American Ball Park. In his remarks, he referred to pro baseball Hall of Famer Johnny Bench; Mary Bunning, wife of Senator Jim Bunning; Ohio State Treasurer Joseph T. Deters, write-in candidate for county prosecutor, Hamilton County, OH; Ohio Auditor of State Betty Montgomery; pro football Hall of Famer Anthony Munoz; Marty Brennaman, broadcaster, Cincinnati Reds, Major League Baseball; country music entertainers the Gatlin Brothers and the Wil Gravatt Band; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Wilmington, Ohio

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming today. There's nothing like an early morning rally in the great State of Ohio. I can't think of a better place to kick off the last day of this campaign than with the good folks here in Ohio. I want to thank you for coming. Thank you for your support. With your help, we will carry this great State and win tomorrow.

I'm here to ask for your help. You get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls. Find our fellow Republicans, wise independents, and discerning Democrats, and tell them, if

they want a safer America and a stronger America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason why people ought to put me back in is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. You know, he doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] You'll be pleased to hear I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because he can get the job done. I picked him because of his experience. I picked him because of his judgment.

I'm proud to be traveling today with Curt Schilling. Everybody knows him as a great pitcher. I know him as a great husband, a great dad, and a man of great character. He's a champion on the field, and he's a champion off the field. And like me, he married well, and I'm proud that Shonda is with us today too. Thank you all for coming. Appreciate you being here.

I'm proud to be here with Michael DeWine and his wife, Fran, the Senator from the great State of Ohio. I'm asking you to make sure you vote for George Voinovich for United States Senator. I want to thank Congressman Mike Turner for being here and his wife, Lori.

I want to thank your Governor, Bob Taft, and your Lieutenant Governor, Jennette Bradley, for coming today. Thank you all for coming. I want to thank all the State and local officials.

I want to thank the entertainment, the Wil Gravatt Band and the Wilmington, East Clinton, Blanchester, and Clinton-Massie High School marching bands. I will try to keep my remarks short so you can make sure you study before class starts. [*Laughter*]

I'm here with a message for the people of Ohio. I know the economy of this State has been through a lot, but we are moving in the right direction. And to do so, we've got to keep your taxes low. And I want you to remind your friends and neighbors that my opponent will raise the taxes on Ohio's families and Ohio's small businesses.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. In a new term, I will put pro-growth—keep pro-growth, pro-small-business, pro-farmer policies in place. I will defend your deepest values, and I will work every day to make sure your families are safe. And you can count on me. I'm asking for your help, and there is no doubt in my mind, with your help, we will win Ohio again and win a great victory tomorrow.

The election takes place in a time of great consequence. The person who sits in the Oval Office for the next 4 years will set the course of the war on terror and the direction of our economy. America will need strong, determined, optimistic leadership, and I am ready for the job ahead.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. As Presidents from Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan so clearly demonstrated, a President must not shift with the wind. A President has to make the tough decisions and stand by them. The role of the President is not to follow the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based on principle and conviction and conscience.

During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you are going to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, the people will notice them. Sometimes I am a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and what I intend to do.

This election comes down to five clear choices for America's families. The first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I have kept my word. We've doubled the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We dropped the lowest tax bracket to 10 percent. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes. And as a result of these good policies, our economy is growing at faster rates than any in nearly 20 years. Real after-tax income is up by 10 percent, and that's good for America's families. Homeownership rate in America is at an all-time high. More minority families own a home today than ever before in our Nation's history.

Ohio's farmers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. Small businesses are flourishing all across your State. We've added 1.9 million jobs—new jobs in the last 13 months. The unemployment rate across this country is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s.

There have been some tough times in Ohio, but last month alone, we added 5,500 jobs. The unemployment rate has dropped from 6.3 percent to 6 percent in this State. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has got an economic plan. He's been in the United States Senate for 20 years, and he's voted to raise taxes 98 times. That's five times every year in the Senate. That's what I would call a leading indicator, a predictable pattern. Plus, he's promised about $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. That is trillion with a "T." That is a lot. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts.

So they said, "How are you going to pay for it?" He said, "Well, we'll just tax the rich." But that leaves a tax gap. See, you can only raise between 600 and 800 billion. That's far short of the 2.2 trillion he promised. Given his record, guess who's going to have to fill the tax gap? You are. But the good news is he's not going to tax you because we're going to carry Ohio and win tomorrow.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I ran for President to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms, good, solid education reforms to bring high standards to our classrooms. Math and reading scores are now up in America. We're closing an achievement gap by helping our minority children. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms, extend them to our high schools so no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts. We'll allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discount that big companies are able to do.

We'll help our families in need. And we'll help our families and patients and doctors by getting rid of the frivolous and junk lawsuits that run up the cost of health care. This is an issue in this campaign. My opponent voted against medical liability reform not once, not twice, but 10 times. He put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm standing with the families of Ohio. I'm standing with the docs of Ohio. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has a different approach. He voted for education reform, and now he wants to weaken the accountability standards. He's proposing a big-Government health care plan. I remember that debate when he looked square in the camera when they asked him about his health care plan. He said, "The Government didn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people would end up on a Government program. The wrong prescription for American families is to federalize your health care.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drugs for our seniors. I have kept my word. Seniors are getting discounts on medicine with their drug discount cards, and beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

When you're out gathering up the vote, remind people my opponent has got a record on this issue. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage. He's trying to scare our seniors in this campaign. That's an old, tired practice. But as he does so, I want you to tell your friends and neighbors, he's the one that voted to tax

Social Security benefits eight times. We'll keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. We will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to the Social Security system. Baby boomers like me are in fine shape when it comes to the Social Security trust. I see a couple of others out there too. [*Laughter*] But the job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future generations. And that's why I'll bring people together to make sure we strengthen the Social Security system for generations to come.

Fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial for our families. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

We have a difference of opinion on these issues. My opponent voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act. There is a mainstream in American politics, and Senator John Kerry sits on the far left bank. [*Laughter*] He can run from that liberal record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If this country of ours shows any uncertainty or weakness during these troubling times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Our strategy is clear. We have strengthened the protections for our homeland. We are reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming the great United States military. There will be no draft. We will keep the All-Volunteer Army an all-volunteer army. We are relentless, and we are determined. We are staying on the offensive. We will chase the terrorists overseas so we do not have to face them here at home.

The 9/11 Commission report said America is safer but not yet safe. We're making progress. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and capturing terrorist leaders. Lybia is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We've shut down their camps. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world. More than three-quarters of its key leaders and associates have been brought to justice, and the rest of them know we're on their trail.

And we are making progress because we have a great United States military. I want to thank those who wear the uniform who are here. I want to thank the military families who are here. And I want to thank the veterans who have set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. And I want to assure you, we will keep our commitment that I have made to our troops and to their families.

That's why in September of 2003, I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion of important supplemental funding. That's money that went to our troops in combat in Iraq and in Afghanistan. It was important, really important. My opponent, on national TV, said prior to that vote, "It would be irresponsible to vote against funding for the troops." And then he started to go down in the polls, and he voted against funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying this: "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it." I haven't spent a lot of time in the coffee shops around here, but I bet you a lot of people don't talk that way. [*Laughter*]

They kept pressing him. He's given a lot of explanations about the 87—voting against the 87 billion, but I think the most revealing of all was when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

The problem with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. Twenty years—for 20 years, on the largest national security issues of the time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry was critical, was against President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

One year after the bombing of—the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in our intelligence budgets, so massive that his colleague from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we've got to be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

During our debates, it became clear we have a different attitude about how to protect American families. He said America must pass a "global test" before we commit force. I'm not making that up. I heard it, and so did you. As far as I can tell, a "global test" means that America must get permission to defend ourselves. I will build on our alliance. I will strengthen our relationships overseas, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

We have a different point of view about how to protect our families. My opponent said that September the 11th didn't change him much at all. Well, September the 11th changed me. It changed my outlook. Perhaps the best way to describe to you about how I feel is that experience I had at the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001, in the rubble. And I remember the workers in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the person coming out of that rubble, and he grabbed me by arm. He looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect our families and our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. We will use every asset at our disposal to protect you. We will wage a comprehensive strategy to defend our country. And perhaps the most powerful asset we have is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies. I know that free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. Freedom will help us keep the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren.

I want the younger folks here to remember and think about what has taken place in a quick period of time. It wasn't all that long ago in Afghanistan that young girls could not go to school, and if their mothers didn't toe the line of the ideologues of hate that ran that country, they would be taken into the public square and whipped and sometimes shot in a sports stadium. But because we acted in our own self-defense, because we upheld a doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people in Afghanistan voted for a President. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman. Freedom can change societies for the better.

Iraq is dangerous. It is dangerous because that society is heading toward democracy. Think how far that society has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. There will be Presidential elections in January. I believe every soul desires to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

These are historic times, and there is a lot at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of this country are on the ballot. Ultimately, though, this election comes down to who do you trust—who do you trust to make the tough decisions? Who do you trust to lead this country to a better tomorrow?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay your bills and small businesses create jobs, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of the health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you're tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you're a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and does what he says and keeps his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Four years ago when I traveled across Ohio, I made a pledge that if I were to be elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

On to victory. Thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:22 a.m. at Airborne Airpark. In his remarks, he referred to Shonda Schilling, wife of Curt Schilling, pitcher, Boston Red Sox, Major League Baseball; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. He also referred to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission).

Remarks to Reporters on Arrival in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

November 1, 2004

We're coming down the stretch, and I feel great. Thank you for asking. [*Laughter*] This is a seven-stop day, because I want to continue telling the people what I intend to do to protect them and how I intend to put policies in place to make sure America is a hopeful place. I'm looking forward to the day. I really am. I'm excited by the size of the crowds. I'm energized by the support that I have received across this country. It's an opportunity to thank people who have worked so hard on behalf of my candidacy and to tell them how grateful I am for all of the sacrifices they have made on behalf of their country. It's also a chance to remind them that when they work hard, that I'm confident we're going to win.

I want to thank you all for working so hard coming down the stretch. I know you're tired, but look at it this way: It's like that marathoner, Stretch [Richard Keil, Bloomberg News]; that finish line is in sight. And I just want to assure you, I've got the energy, the optimism, and the enthusiasm to cross the line.

But thank you all. We'll see you during the course of what's going to be a great day. Thanks.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 a.m. at Pittsburgh International Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in Burgettstown, Pennsylvania

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. Thanks for being here. I am so honored so many came out to say hello. I'm here to ask for your vote and ask for your help. It is close to voting time, and I'm out here to ask you to get our fellow Republicans and wise independents and discerning Democrats here in western Pennsylvania to do our duty and go to the polls tomorrow. And remind your friends and neighbors, if they want a safer America and a stronger

America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back into office.

Perhaps the most important reason to put me back in is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years. I regret that she's not here. We started——

Audience members. Aw-w-w!

The President. I understand. [*Laughter*] We were campaigning together yesterday.* She's off on her own for a while, which is wise use of her time. [*Laughter*] A lot of people have come to know her like I know her. She is a warm, compassionate, great First Lady.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I really don't intend to insult anybody who's follically challenged—[*laughter*]—but I readily concede that the Vice President does not have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] The people of western Pennsylvania will be pleased to know I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his judgment and his experience. He's getting the job done.

I want to thank Curt and Shonda Schilling for taking time out of a busy life to come and endorse my candidacy for President. We all know him as a great baseball player. I know him as a great dad, a wonderful husband, a man of enormous character and value. I'm proud to have his support. And Santorum talks about Shonda lobbying the Congress; she's pretty effective about lobbying the President too. [*Laughter*] I want to thank them for their concern, their care, and their compassion. Thank you all for coming.

I want to thank my friend the Senator from Pennsylvania, Ricky Santorum. I wish Senator Arlen Specter all the best. When you put me in, put him in too. I appreciate Congressman Tim Murphy, his dedication and service in the United States Congress. I want to thank Congresswoman Melissa Hart for her service. I want to thank all the candidates who are here, those running statewide and those running locally. I want to thank my friend Lynn Swann for his friendship and leadership.

I want to thank Mark Wills and Daron Norwood for being here today. Both of them are fine singers.

I want to thank the Wingmen for Bush. They are a coalition of guys I served with. I am honored they're here. I appreciate your friendship. Thank you all for taking time to come.

Most of all, I want to thank the grassroots activists for being here. I want to thank you for putting up the signs. I want to thank you for making the phone calls. I want to thank you for what you have done and what you're going to do over the next 24 hours. By turning out the vote, by finding people who are concerned about the future of this country, we are going to carry Pennsylvania and win a great victory on Tuesday.

Tomorrow the people of this good State and the people of our Nation will be heading to the polls. And I'm excited about election day, and I'm optimistic about the future of this country. You know, one of my favorite sayings comes from a fellow Texan who said this: He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent a lot of time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for America. I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of this country. I see a day where every child is able to read and write and add and subtract. I see a day in which this world becomes more peaceful so our children and our grandchildren can grow up in the peace we all want. I see a day that's better for every American. And tomorrow, the American people have a chance to bring that better day by voting for Bush-Cheney.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The President must lead based on principle and conviction and conscience.

During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them, and whatever your weaknesses are, people will notice them. Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother.

---

* White House correction.

Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I get that from my dad. [*Laughter*] But all the time, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead.

This election——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. This election comes down to clear choices on five vital issues facing our families. And the first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families. And I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to help moms and dads. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We lowered taxes on everybody who pays taxes.

As a result of these policies, our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. Real after-tax income—the money in your pocket—is up by 10 percent since I've been your President. Homeownership rate is an alltime high in America, and more minority families own a home today than ever before in our history.

Pennsylvania's farmers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong. Small businesses are flourishing all across the State. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. And the unemployment rate here in Pennsylvania is 5.3 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

People in western Pennsylvania need to hear this message. I know this State depends on a healthy steel and coal economy. And we will keep taxes low. We will insist on free and fair trade, and we will make those industries strong so the Pennsylvania recovery keeps on creating jobs for the Pennsylvania people.

My opponent has an economic plan.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Let me remind you of his history. He's been in the United States Senate 20 years. He's voted to raise taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times for every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] And when you couple that with the fact that he's promised 2.2 trillion in new spending——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——you begin to get a sense of his economic plan. That's 2.2 trillion with a "T." That is a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. They asked him how he was going to pay for it. He said he'll tax the rich. You have heard that before. You can't raise enough money to pay for 2.2 trillion. There is a tax gap. There is a gap between what he has promised and what he can deliver, and given his record, guess who is going to get to fill that tax gap?

Audience member. We are!

The President. Hard-working people of western Pennsylvania. We are not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Pennsylvania and win on November the 2d.

The second clear choice involves the quality of life for your families. I ran for President to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. And I have kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to our classrooms. Math and reading scores are now on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap by helping minority children. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We will expand health savings accounts. We will allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discount that big companies are able to do.

We will help our families in need, and we will do something about these junk lawsuits that are making it hard to find good doctors in Pennsylvania. We have a difference of opinion on these lawsuits. My opponent has voted against medical liability reform not once, twice, three times but 10 times as a Member of the United States Senate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I understand the problem you face here in Pennsylvania. I've talked to too many ob-gyns in this State that are having problems staying in practice. I've talked to too many expectant moms that are worried about their health care. I'm standing with the doctors of Pennsylvania. I'm standing with the patients of Pennsylvania. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent takes a different approach. He voted for the education reforms but now wants to weaken the accountability standards.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He's proposed a big-Government health care plan. I remember that debate when he looked square in the camera and he said the Government didn't have anything to do with it, when he was talking about his health care plan. I could barely contain myself. The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people end up on a Government-run plan. The wrong prescription for American families is to federalize your health care. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

The third clear choice involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I have kept my word. Seniors are already getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has a record. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And his campaign is trying to scare our seniors when it comes to Social Security. But he forgets to mention that he is the one who voted to increase taxes on Social Security benefits eight times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have kept the promise of Social Security, and we will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. And baby boomers like me and some others out there I see are in good shape when it comes to the Social Security trust.

But we need to to worry about our children and our grandchildren. That's why I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account they call their own. In a new term, I will bring people together to strengthen Social Security for generations to come.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I want the Democrats and Republicans, independents of western Pennsylvania to understand this: I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundation of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortions. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On issue after—on these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress in every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If this country shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubled times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We are protecting our homeland. Tom Ridge, the former Governor of this great State, is doing a wonderful job. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming our All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are determined. We are relentless. We are steadfast. We're staying on the offensive. We are fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

We're succeeding. Afghanistan is free and an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons program. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom. Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We've shut down its camps there. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network.

We are making progress on protecting the American people because we've got a great military. We will keep it a great military. And I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform for your service. I want to thank the military families who are here for your sacrifice for our country. I want to thank the veterans who are here for having set such a great example to those who wear the uniform. And I assure you, we'll make sure our troops have that which they need to complete their missions.

That's why, in September of 2003, I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion to support our troops in combat. It was a very important funding request. My opponent said on national TV that it would be irresponsible to vote against the funding for our troops. And then, because the political polls changed, he changed his position, and he did the irresponsible thing, and he voted against funding for our troops.

Audience members. Flip-flop! Flip-flop! Flip-flop!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying this—upon his entry, here is what he said: "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I doubt many people in western Pennsylvania talk that way. [*Laughter*] He's given a lot of explanations since that vote, but I think the most revealing is this. He said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow citizens, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Senator Kerry's record on national security has far deeper problems than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war—I want the citizens of this—of western Pennsylvania to hear the truth here—during the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

One year after——

[*At this point, there was an interruption in the audience.*]

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. One year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive——

[*The interruption in the audience continued.*]

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. So massive that his colleague Ted Kennedy opposed them. Well, history has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we got to be fair—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

We have a difference of opinion. And as you gather up the vote, remind people about this difference of opinion as to how to better secure our Nation's families——

[*The interruption in the audience continued.*]

The President. My opponent suggested America must pass a "global test" before we defend ourselves.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I will always work with our friends and allies, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Senator Kerry says September the 11th didn't change him much at all. It changed me. It changed my outlook about how to better defend this country. I remember going to the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. It's a day I'll never forget. There were workers in hardhats there yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the man who came out of the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm. He looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I get up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending this country, whatever it takes.

Over the next 4 years, we will defend this country. We will use every asset at our disposal, and one of the most powerful assets we have is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies.

I want the youngsters here to realize what has happened in a short period of time in Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that young girls could not go to school, and their mothers were taken into the public squares and whipped and sometimes shot in a sports stadium, because the ideologues of hate, the Taliban, had such a dim view of the world.

Because we acted to defend ourselves, because we upheld the doctrine that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of citizens went to the polls to vote for their President. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman. Freedom is on the march. And free societies help us keep the peace we all want.

Iraq is still dangerous. That's because that country is headed toward democracy. There will be elections in Iraq in January. Think how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves.

I believe every person wants to live in a free society. I believe mothers and dads want to raise their children in a free and peaceful world. I believe this not because freedom is America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. We are living in historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. The truth of the matter is, this election comes down to who do you trust—who do you trust to make this country secure? Who do you trust to offer leadership and results in a time of challenge to America?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can expand and create jobs, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for public schools, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you are tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

When I traveled your great State 4 years ago, I made a pledge that if elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

Thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:38 a.m. in the Post-Gazette Pavilion at Star Lake. In his remarks, he referred to Curt Schilling, pitcher, Boston Red Sox, Major League Baseball, and his wife, Shonda;

country music entertainers Mark Wills and Daron Norwood; Lynn C. Swann, chairman, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all for coming. I want to thank all the cheese heads who are here. It's close to voting time, and I'm here to ask for your vote and your help. Get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls tomorrow. Get our fellow Republicans to go to the polls, wise independents, and discerning Democrats. And when you get them headed to the polls, remind them that if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason to put me back in is so that Laura will be First Lady for 4 more years. I am sorry that she's not here today.

Audience members. Aw-w-w!

The President. That's generally the reaction. [*Laughter*] She's campaigning. You've come to know her like I know her. She's warm. She's compassionate. She is a strong First Lady.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I readily concede that he does not have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] You'll be pleased I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his experience, his judgment, and he's getting the job done for the American people.

I'm proud of my friend and your former Governor, Tommy Thompson. He's done a great job. He's done a fantastic job for the people. You trained him well. [*Laughter*] And I want to thank Sue Ann Thompson for her sacrifice and for letting—allowing Tommy to work so hard on behalf of the people of the United States.

I want to thank Congressman Paul Ryan and Janna; Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner and Cheryl; and Congressman Mark Green for such a great job in the United States Congress. I want to thank the statehouse people who are here. I want to thank the local government people who are here. Old Scott W. is with us. At least that's what I call him. The high sheriff is with us. Sheriff Clarke, thanks for coming.

I've been most impressed during my travels throughout Wisconsin to have met and talked with a man who will make a great United States Senator, Tim Michels. I wish Jerry Boyle all the best in his run for the Fourth Congressional District.

I want to thank Morgan Hamm for coming today. I appreciate him being here. He's been a great Olympic champ from the State of Wisconsin. I want to thank Keith Tozer and Tom Crean, great basketball coaches here in Milwaukee. I want to thank Brooks and Dunn for being here. I'm so honored they traveled. I can't thank both of the guys enough—and their band. I also want to thank our longtime friends the Oak Ridge Boys for being here. Thank you all.

I want to thank all the people who've worked so hard in this State over the last year to get ready for tomorrow. I understand people have been working hours, day after day. I want to thank you for making the phone calls and putting up the signs and preparing these fantastic bus trips we have taken all across your State. I want to thank you for what you have done. I want to thank you for what you're going to do. You're going to turn out a big vote, and we're going to carry Wisconsin.

Tomorrow the people of this good State go to the polls and vote, and I'm excited about the election day. I'm optimistic about this country and our future. I see a brighter day, a more hopeful America for every citizen.

One of my favorite sayings is by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. Here is what he said. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During this campaign, my opponent spent much of the time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for America, a day where prosperity reaches every corner of our country, a day where every child is able to read and write and add and subtract, a day in which this world of ours becomes

more peaceful for our children and our grandchildren. Tomorrow the people of Wisconsin and America have a chance to bring that better day by voting for strong, competent, and principled leadership. I'm here asking for your vote.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest poll. The role of a President is to lead based on principle and conviction and conscience.

During these 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you are going to need them; whatever your shortcomings are, the people will notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But at all times, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead this country.

This election comes down to five clear choices for our families. The first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I kept my word. We doubled the child credit to help moms and dads. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize, marriage. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes.

And the result of our good policies is clear to all. Our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million jobs in the last 13 months. The farmers of Wisconsin—the farm income in Wisconsin is up. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. The small-business sector is alive and well. The homeownership rate is at an alltime high, and more minority families own a home today than ever before in our Nation's history. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. The unemployment rate in the great State of Wisconsin is 5 percent. This economy of ours is strong, and it is getting stronger.

And I have a message for the people of Wisconsin: To keep your economy growing, we will keep your taxes low. We will make sure the small-business sector remains vibrant, and we will make sure Wisconsin farmers continue to make a good living.

My opponent has got an economic plan as well.

Audience member. Tax everything! [*Laughter*]

The President. Let me remind you of his record. He voted 98 times to increase taxes. That's in 20 years in the Senate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's five times a year. You might say it's a predictable pattern—[*laughter*]—a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] In this campaign, the Senator has pledged to raise taxes on the top two brackets. When you hear a politician say he's going to raise taxes, that's generally a promise they keep. [*Laughter*] He's proposing $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. That's trillion with a "T."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That is a lot. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. And yet, by raising the top two brackets, he falls short of the 2.2 trillion. As a matter of fact, there is a significant tax gap. Given his record, guess who he's going to call upon to fill the tax gap? The middle class of our country. We're not going to let him tax you; we're going to carry Wisconsin tomorrow and win a victory on Tuesday.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I believe every child can learn, and I expect every school to teach. When I ran for President, I promised to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to our classrooms. Math and reading scores are on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap by helping minority students. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We will continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts. We'll allow small businesses to join together and buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will help our families who need

help. But we will also do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of your health care and running good doctors out of practice.

We have a difference of opinion on this big issue. My opponent has voted against medical liability reform not 1 time, not 2 times, but 10 times as a Member of the United States Senate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm standing with Wisconsin's docs. I'm standing with Wisconsin's patients. I am standing with Wisconsin's families. I am for real medical liability reform—now. In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has got a different approach. You might remember in one of the debates when they asked him about his health care plan, he looked square in the camera and said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." [*Laughter*] I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people will end up on a Government plan under his vision. Federalizing health care for America's families is the wrong prescription.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I worked with Tommy Thompson. We got the job done, and I kept my word. Seniors are getting discounts on medicine with drug discount cards. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has a record. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage for our seniors. He's also trying to scare seniors about their Social Security. But he forgets to mention that he has voted eight times to raise taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

I've kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and I will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. And the Social Security trust is in pretty good shape for baby boomers like me and some others out there I see. [*Laughter*]

But we need to worry about our children and grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. The job of the President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future generations and future Presidents. I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and set it aside in a personal savings account, an account they call their own.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues my opponent and I are miles apart. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against the Defense of Marriage Act, even though most Democrats supported it. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from his liberal philosophy, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important one of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If this country shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubling times, this world of ours will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy to protect America is clear. We strengthened protections for the homeland. We are reforming and strengthening

our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming the All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are relentless. We are determined. We are staying on the offensive. We are fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

We are succeeding. Afghanistan is free and an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making arrests and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is beginning to defend its freedom. Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We have shut down its camps there. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I am proud to be the Commander in Chief of such a great United States military. And we have a great military because of the character of the men and women who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank the military families who are here for your sacrifice and your courage. I want to thank the veterans who are here for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. And I want to assure our troops and our families that their loved ones will have all they need to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding. This was necessary. This was important funding to support our troops. My opponent said that it would be irresponsible to vote against funding for our troops—until his poll numbers began to go down, and then he voted against funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame. And as he entered, he said this famous quote: "I actually did vote for the $87 billion, before I voted against it." He has has a lot of explanations about that vote since then, but I think the most revealing is this. He said, "The whole matter was a complicated matter." My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

The problems with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

Only a year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence, so extreme that even his colleague from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we must be fair—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

We have a clear difference of opinion on how to best defend America's families. My opponent has said that America must submit to a "global test" before we commit force.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] He was standing right about there when he said it. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, that means that America must get permission from foreign capitals. I will work on alliances. I will continue to strengthen our friendships around the world. But I will never, never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. We have a difference of opinion about the world in which we live. The Senator said that September the 11th did not change him much at all. September the 11th changed me. It changed my outlook about how—what we needed to do to defend this country. September the 14th, 2001, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. I'll never forget the sights and sounds of that day. I will never forget the workers in the hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the man who grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." From that day forward, I've gotten up every morning thinking about how

to better protect America. I will never relent in defending this country, whatever it takes.

Over the next 4 years, we'll use every asset at our disposal to protect you. Perhaps the most powerful asset we have is freedom. I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies. I know that free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. Free nations will help us keep the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren.

I want you all to think, particularly the young here, to think about what has taken place in a brief period of time. In Afghanistan, young girls couldn't go to school, and their mothers were taken to the public squares and whipped and sometimes shot in a sports stadium, because of the ideology of hate of the Taliban. But because we acted to defend ourselves, because we acted to uphold a doctrine, which said, "If you harbor a terrorists, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people voted in a Presidential election in Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year old woman.

Freedom is powerful, and freedom can be threatening to the terrorists. And that's why Iraq is so dangerous. But we're headed toward free elections there. Think how far that society has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves. See, I believe everybody deserves and wants to be free. I believe deep in everybody's soul is the desire to live in freedom. I believe moms and dads across this world want to raise their children in a free society. I believe this because I understand freedom is not America's gift to the world. I believe this because I know that freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

My fellow citizens, these are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. Ultimately, this election comes down to, who do you trust? Who do you trust to defend the country?

Audience members. You!

The President. Who do you trust to extend prosperity?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay their bills and small businesses can create new jobs, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you're tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Four years ago, when I traveled your great State asking for the vote, I made this pledge, that if elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

Thanks for coming. God bless. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. at the U.S. Cellular Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Sue Ann Thompson, wife of Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy G. Thompson; Milwaukee County Executive Scott K. Walker; Milwaukee County Sheriff David A. Clarke, Jr.; Morgan Hamm, 2004 Olympic gold medalist, men's gymnastics; Keith Tozer, vice president of soccer operations and head coach, Milwaukee Wave, Major Indoor Soccer League; Tom Crean, head coach, Marquette University men's basketball team; country music entertainers Brooks & Dunn and the Oak Ridge Boys; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Des Moines, Iowa

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all. Senator, what I have learned is every day is a good day to be in Iowa. And I've really enjoyed campaigning in your State in 2000, now in 2004. And I'm here one more time to ask for your vote and ask for your help. I'm asking for you to go to your friends and neighbors and tell them we have a duty in our country to vote. Go to our fellow Republicans, wise independents, and discerning Democrats. And tell them, if they want a stronger America, a safer America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason why people should put me back in is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years. I'm sorry she's not with me right now. She's working—[*laughter*]—thankfully, for me. [*Laughter*] She gives a lot of speeches, and when she speaks, the American people see a warm, compassionate, strong First Lady.

And I'm really proud of Barbara and Jenna. I want to thank them for joining up. I can't think of a better way to complete the last day of this campaign than to be campaigning with two girls I love. And guess who surprised me today? My sister, Dorothy, is with us. Thank you, Doro. I'm a lucky man. I've got a great family, and I love my family. I'm looking forward to working with them as we complete this campaign.

I've got a great Vice President too. I'm real proud of Dick Cheney. I don't want to offend anyone here who is follically challenged, but I readily concede the Vice President doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. But I know the people of Des Moines, Iowa, will be pleased to hear that I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment, and I picked him because of his experience. And he's getting the job done for the American people.

I can't tell you how proud I am to be able to work with your United States Senator Chuck Grassley. He's an accomplished, effective Senator for Iowa. He is really good at what he does. I know you're going to put him back into office. He is so good at what he does, I've got a job for him on the South Lawn of the White House—got a lot of grass. [*Laughter*] And we love Barbara Grassley too. Chuck's wife is a fine, fine woman.

I want to thank my friend Congressman Jim Nussle, the chairman of the Budget Committee in the House of Representatives, for coming today.

I want to thank the State auditor here. I want to thank the majority leader. I want to thank the Urbandale mayor. I want to thank all the State and local officials. I want to thank some candidates who are here. I want to thank Stan Thompson, who's running for the United States Congress. He's the right man for the job.

I want to thank all the grassroots activists who are here. I want to thank those of you who have been putting up the signs and making the phone calls. I want to thank you for all the work you've done over the past year to get ready for tomorrow. I want to thank Dave Roederer. I want to thank my friend Becky Beach.

I want to thank the—John Stone is with us. Thank you for coming, John. I'm proud you're here. How about Cael Sanderson, gold medalist—what a great ambassador for Iowa, a great ambassador for the United States.

I want to thank you for all you've done and what you're going to do over the next 24 hours. With your help, with your hard work, by turning out this vote, there is no doubt in my mind we will carry Iowa and win a great victory on Tuesday.

Tomorrow the people of this good State and the people of America go to the polls. I'm excited about Election Day. I'm looking forward to it, and I'm also optimistic about the future of this country. I see a brighter day and a more hopeful day. One of my favorite quotes was said by a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It's the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of it talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of this country. I see a day where every child is able to read and write and add and subtract. I see a day in which this world

becomes more peaceful, where we achieve the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren. Tomorrow the people of this country have a chance to bring that better day by voting for strong and principled and optimistic leadership by voting for Bush-Cheney.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based upon principle and conviction and conscience. During these 4 years, I have learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, people will notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But at all times, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I intend to lead.

This election comes down to five clear choices for America's families. The first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families. I have kept my word. We doubled the child credit to help moms and dads. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We reduced the taxes on everybody who pays taxes.

As a result of these good policies, our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. Real after-tax income is up 10 percent since I've been the President. Homeownership in America is at an alltime high. More minority families own their home than ever before in our Nation's history. Small businesses are flourishing. We've added 1.9 million new jobs since September of 2003. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. Let me put that in perspective for you: That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. Farm income in Iowa is up, and the unemployment rate in this State is 4.7 percent. This economy of ours is strong, and it is getting stronger.

I have a message for the people of Iowa. We're going to open up foreign markets for Iowa corn and other products. We'll promote renewables like ethanol and biodiesel. We will keep this farm economy strong, and the people of Iowa can count on me to keep my word.

My opponent has an economic plan. I want you to remember he voted 98 times to increase taxes, in 20 years in the Senate. That is five times a year.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That is a predictable pattern. [*Laughter*] That's a leading indicator. [*Laughter*] There's not enough to pay for all his promises. He's proposing $2.2 trillion, and he said he's only going to raise the top two brackets. See, that raises about 600, 800 billion, but that's far short of the 2.2 trillion he's promised. There is a tax gap. And given his past history, guess who is going to have to fill the tax gap?

Audience members. We are!

The President. The middle-income families of the America. The good news is, he's not going to be able to tax you; we're going to carry Iowa and win a great victory.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I believe every child can learn and every school must teach. I went to Washington to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations and reform our public schools. I kept my word. We passed education reforms that bring high standards to the classrooms. Math and reading scores are now on the rise. We are closing the achievement gap by helping minority children. My vision for a new term is to build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts. We'll allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discounts big companies are able to do. We'll help families in need, and we will do something about these junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine and driving good docs—we're driving good docs out of practice.

My opponent and I disagree on this medical liability issue. I see it as a national problem that requires a national solution. He's

voted against medical liability reform 10 times, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm standing with the doctors of Iowa. I'm standing with the patients of Iowa. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to improve health care, we'll make sure the medical decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has a different approach. He voted for education reform but now wants to weaken the accountability standards. He's proposing a big-Government health care plan. You might remember one of the debates, when they asked him about his health care plan, he looked in the camera and said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people end up on a Government health care plan under his vision. And that is the wrong prescription for American families.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. With the help of Senator Grassley and with the help of Congressman Nussle, I kept my word. We have modernized Medicare for our seniors. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

When you're out rounding up the votes here in Iowa, I want you to remember what that Medicare did for Iowa's rural hospitals. You might remember that issue about how the rural hospitals in this State were not being treated fairly. Because of the law I signed, because of the hard work of this Senator and this Congressman, Iowa's hospitals are now being treated fairly under Medicare.

My opponent voted against that Medicare bill that helped Iowa's hospitals and provided prescription drug coverage for our seniors. He's also said that he's going to do something to protect Social Security, except what he forgot to tell you is that he voted eight times to raise taxes on Social Security benefits.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He can run from that record, but he cannot hide.

I know they're trying to scare some seniors, this being election time, about Social Security. But I have kept the promise of Social Security for our seniors. I will always keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors. And the Social Security trust is in pretty good shape for baby boomers like me and some others out there I see. [*Laughter*]

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether the Social Security system will be there for them when they retire. That's why I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account that earns a better rate of return than the trust, an account they call their own and the Government cannot take away.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundation of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I was proud to sign the bill that banned partial-birth abortions. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He was part of an extreme minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act and voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from that record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If this country shows weakness or uncertainty during these troubled times, the world will

drift toward tragedy. This isn't going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We've strengthened protections for the homeland. We are reforming and strengthening our intelligence-gathering capabilities. We are transforming our military. There will be no draft. We'll keep the All-Volunteer Army an all-volunteer army. We are relentless. We are determined to protect this country. We're staying on the offensive. We will fight the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

We're succeeding. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is defending freedom. And Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We've shut down camps there, and we are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world.

And we're able to do so because we have a great United States military, and I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank the loved ones of those who wear our Nation's uniform, and I want to thank the veterans who are here, who have set such a great example to those who wear our Nation's uniform. And I want to assure you, we will keep our commitments to make sure our troops have all they need to complete their missions.

That is why I went to the Congress in September of 2003, and asked for $87 billion in supplemental funding. It was a very important request. At first, my opponent said, "It would be irresponsible to vote against the funding for the troops." Then his poll numbers began to decline, and he voted against the funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame. [*Laughter*] And as he entered, as he entered, he said this: "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, right before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] He's given several explanations on that vote since then, but I think the most revealing is when he said, "The whole thing is a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow Americans, there's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

It is important for our fellow citizens to know the facts. See, the problems with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues, he's been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

Only a year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence, cuts so extreme that even his fellow Senator from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, would not support them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and—we have got to be fair—Senator Kennedy was right. [*Laughter*]

We have differences of opinion as to how to protect the American people. My opponent believes that America must submit to what he calls a "global test."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] I heard him say it—[*laughter*]—in the debate. As far as I can tell, my opponent's "global test" means that America must get permission in order to defend ourselves. I will work with our allies, and I will strengthen our alliances, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

We have a difference of opinion as to better—how to better protect America. My opponent has said September the 11th didn't change him much at all. Well, it changed me. I'll never forget the day I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers, September the 14th, 2001. There were workers in hardhats there yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the man who came out of the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I've gotten up every morning

thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

For the next 4 years, we'll use every asset at our disposal to protect the American people. The strongest asset we have is to spread freedom. Free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. Free nations will help us keep the peace that we want for our children and our grandchildren. I believe in the power of liberty to transform society.

Think about what's happened in a brief period of time in Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that that country was the home base of Al Qaida, and young girls were not allowed to go to school because the Taliban were so backward and so dark in their vision. And if their mothers did not toe the line, they were taken in the public square and whipped and sometimes shot in a sports stadium. But because we acted to protect ourselves, because we upheld a doctrine that I laid out for the world that "If you harbor at terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people went to the polls to vote for the President of Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman. Think about that. Freedom is a powerful force to transform society.

Iraq is dangerous. It is dangerous because democracy is advancing. But think of how far that country has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves and the brutal reign of a tyrant who hated America. They will be having Presidential elections in January. Freedom is on the march, and we're more secure for it. I believe everybody yearns to be free.

I believe that moms and dads around the world want to raise their children in free societies. I understand freedom is not America's gift to the world, but I do understand freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

My fellow citizens, these are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity are on the ballot. Ultimately, though, this election comes down to, who do you trust? Who do you trust to protect you?

Audience members. You!

The President. Who do you trust to spread prosperity?

Audience members. You!

The President. If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can create jobs, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe this Nation must honor the commitment of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you are tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Four years ago, when I traveled your great State asking for the vote, I made this pledge, that if elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, we will carry Iowa, and I will do so for next 4 years.

Thank you all for coming. God bless.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. at the Iowa State Fairgrounds. In his remarks, he referred to Iowa State Auditor David A. Vaudt; Chuck Gipp, majority leader, Iowa House of Representatives; Mayor Brad Zaun of Urbandale, IA; Stan Thompson, candidate for Congress in Iowa's Third Congressional District; David Roederer, Iowa State chairman, and Becky Beach, Iowa State steering designee, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.; country music

entertainer John Stone; Cael Sanderson, 2004 Olympic gold medalist, freestyle wrestling; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Sioux City, Iowa

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. We are honored to be in Sioux land. Thanks for coming. It's good to be in a part of the world where the cowboy hats outnumber the ties. Senator Grassley is right. Laura and I feel right at home with folks like you all, and thanks for coming out to lift our spirits. We're coming down the stretch. I'm here to ask for your vote, I'm here to ask for your help.

I'd like you to get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls tomorrow. Turn out our fellow Republicans, wise independents, and discerning Democrats. And when you get them headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America and a stronger America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason of all that I should be reelected is so that Laura is the First Lady for 4 more years. And there's nothing better than coming down the stretch in a Presidential campaign with two women I love, our daughters Barbara and Jenna.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I don't want to offend anybody here who is follically challenged, but I readily concede that Vice President Cheney does not have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] But I'm confident that you'll appreciate the fact I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. I picked him because of his judgment. I picked him because of his experience.

I'm proud to call Chuck Grassley friend. I know you're proud to call him United States Senator. He's a really fine Senator, and we have done a lot of work together. I—it's important that he remain the chairman of the Finance Committee, and one way to make sure he remains the chairman of the Finance Committee is for the people of South Dakota to elect John Thune to the United States Senate. I know John Thune, and there's no doubt in my mind that he will make a great United States Senator for the people of South Dakota. I want to thank Congressman Steve King from the great State of Iowa for being here.

I want to thank Sioux City Mayor Dave Ferris for being here today. I know the mayor didn't ask me for any advice, but I'm going to give him some. Fill the potholes. [*Laughter*] Mr. Mayor, thank you for your service. Mr. Mayor, I appreciate it.

I want to thank the speaker of the house, Christopher Rants. I want to thank all the State and local officials. I want to thank my friend Ricky Skaggs for being here, and his band. But most of all, I want to thank you all. Thanks for coming. Thanks for what you have done and thanks for what you're going to do as we come down the stretch, putting up the signs and making the phone calls and turning out the votes. No doubt in my mind, we'll carry Iowa and win a great victory in November.

I am excited about this election, and I am optimistic about the future of our country. I see a brighter day and a more hopeful America. One of my favorite sayings comes from a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for America. I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of our country. I see a day where every child is able to read and write and add and subtract. I see a day in which this world becomes more peaceful, where we achieve the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren. And tomorrow, the people of America have a chance to bring that better day by voting for strong, confident, optimistic leadership by voting for Bush-Cheney.

The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based upon principle, conviction, and conscience.

During the last 4 years, I've learned that whatever your strengths are, you are going

to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, the people are going to notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all the time, no matter whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead this country.

This election comes down to five clear choices for America's families. The first clear choice concerns your family budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families, and I have kept my word. We doubled the child credit to help moms and dads all across America. We reduced the marriage penalty. We believe the Tax Code ought to encourage, not penalize marriage. We reduced taxes on everybody who pays taxes. And as a result of these good policies, our economy is growing as fast—at rates as any—as fast in nearly 20 years. Real after-tax income—that's money in your pocket—is up 10 percent since I have been the President. Our farmers and ranchers are making a good living all across America.

Homeownership rate is at an alltime high. More minority owns—more minority families own a house than ever before in our Nation's history. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. Our small businesses all across the Nation are doing well. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. In the great State of Iowa, the unemployment rate is 4.7 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

I've a message for the farmers and ranchers of Iowa and South Dakota and Nebraska. We will continue to open up foreign markets for your products. We'll promote renewables like ethanol and biodiesel. We will keep our farm economy strong, and you can count on me to keep my word.

My opponent has an economic plan. I want you to remember he has voted to increase taxes 98 times in 20 years as a United States Senator.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That is five times a year. You might say that is a predictable pattern, a leading indicator. In this campaign the Senator has pledged to raise taxes on the top two brackets. But that's not enough to pay for his priorities. See, he's promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending. That is trillion with a "T." That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts.

But raising those top two brackets, that penalizes your small-business owner, and at the same time, it doesn't even come close to paying for his promises. There's a tax gap. That's a gap between what he has promised and what he can deliver. And you know who usually fills that tax gap? Middle-class families do. We're not going to let him tax you; we're going to win on Tuesday.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our Nation's families. I believe every child can learn and that every school must teach. I went to Washington to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations and to reform our public schools. I have kept my word. We passed education reforms to bring high standards to the classrooms. Math and reading scores are on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap by helping minority students all across America. In a new term, we will build on these reforms, extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and available. We will expand health savings accounts. We will allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discounts available to big companies.

We will help families in need, and we will help our patients and doctors all across America by doing something about these junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine. I have met too many ob-gyns across our country that are having to stop practicing medicine because these lawsuits are running up their premiums. And I have met too many expectant moms who are desperately concerned about their health and the health of their little one because they have to drive miles to find a doctor. We have

a national problem when it comes to these frivolous lawsuits.

My opponent voted 10 times against medical liability reform, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm standing with the doctors of America. I'm standing with the patients of America. I am for real medical liability reform. In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure that the medical decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

My opponent has got his ideas on health care. You might remember one of the debates when they asked him about his health care plan. He looked right in the camera, and he said, "The Government doesn't have anything to do with it." I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eighty percent of the people end up on a Government plan under his vision. Federalizing health care is the wrong prescription for American families.

The third clear choice in this campaign involves your retirement. Our Nation has made a solemn commitment to our seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I have kept my word.

I remember campaigning in 2002 in Iowa with Senator Grassley. I remember all those newspaper editorials saying that Iowa hospitals, rural hospitals were being treated unfairly under Medicare. So I worked with the Senator. Now, Iowa's hospitals are being treated fairly under Medicare because of the work we have done. So are the rural hospitals in Nebraska and South Dakota. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

My opponent has a record. He voted against the Medicare bill that included prescription drug coverage. He also tries to scare seniors about Social Security. But he forgets to tell you that he's the one who voted eight times to tax Social Security benefits. He can run from his record, but he cannot hide.

I have kept the promise for Social Security, and I will always keep the promise for Social Security for our seniors. And baby boomers like me and some other ones out there that I'm looking at are in pretty good shape when it comes to the Social Security trust.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. We need to worry about whether or not the Social Security system will be there when they need it. And that is why I think younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account that earns a better rate of return, an account they call their own.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. And I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortion. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

On these issues, my opponent and I are miles apart. He was part of an extreme minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act, and he voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and Senator John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He ran run from his liberal record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness in these troubled times, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We have strengthened the protections for our homeland. We are reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming our All-Volunteer Army. There will be no draft. We are relentless. We are steadfast. We are determined to protect the American people.

We're staying on the offensive. We're fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

We are succeeding. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making arrests and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is defending freedom. Al Qaida no longer controls Afghanistan. We have shut down its camps. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice, and the rest of them know that we're on their trail.

One reason we're succeeding is because we have a great United States military. I want to thank those who are here who wear our Nation's uniform. I want to thank the military families who are with us today, and I want to thank all the veterans here who have set such a great example for our military.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. I have made a commitment to our military and to the families of our military that our troops will have all that is necessary to complete their missions. That is why in September of 2003, I proposed $87 billion in funding for our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. It was vital funding. Most of the people in Washington supported that funding. My opponent, on national TV, initially said, "It would be irresponsible to vote against the funding for the troops." And then his poll numbers went down, and he voted against the funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame. And he entered the flip-flop hall of fame by saying this: "I actually did vote for the $87 billion, right before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] I haven't spent much time in the coffee shops around here, but I feel pretty comfortable in predicting that not many people talk like that in Sioux land.

He's given several explanations of that vote since then. But perhaps the most revealing of all is when he said, "The whole thing is just a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] My fellow Americans, there is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

The problem with Senator Kerry's record on national security are deeper than election-year reversals. For 20 years, on the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. During the cold war, Senator Kerry voted against critical weapons systems and opposed President Ronald Reagan's policy of peace through strength. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right.

When former President Bush assembled an international coalition to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Senator Kerry voted against the use of force to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.

Only a year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the Senator proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence, cuts so extreme that even his fellow Massachusetts Senator, Ted Kennedy, would not support them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong—and we have got to be fair about it—Senator Kennedy was right.

We have a difference of opinion as to how to protect America. My opponent says that America must submit to what he has called a "global test" before we take action to defend ourselves.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] I heard it during one of the debates. As far as I can tell, my opponent's "global test" means America must get permission to defend our country. I'll work with allies and I'll work with our friends, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Senator Kerry said recently that September the 11th did not change him much at all. Well, it changed the way I look at the world. I'll never forget going to the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. There were workers in hardhats there yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the fellow coming out of the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to

figure out how to better protect the American people. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

Over the next 4 years, we'll use every asset at our disposal to protect the American people. And one of the most—one of the strongest assets we have is freedom. Free nations do not breed resentments and export terror. Free nations become allies in the war on terror. By spreading freedom, it helps us to achieve the peace we all want. I believe in the power of liberty to transform society.

Just think about what's happened in Afghanistan in just 3 short years. That country used to be the home base of Al Qaida and its training camps. Little girls were not allowed to go to school because of the barbaric vision of the Taliban. And if their mothers did not toe their line, their ideological line, they were taken into the public squares and whipped and sometimes shot in a sports stadium. Because we acted to protect our country, because we upheld the doctrine that I laid out that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people went to the polls to vote for a President of Afghanistan. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman.

It's an amazing story about the power of liberty to transform a society. Iraq is still very dangerous, and the reason it is, is because democracy is emerging, is because the society is becoming free and freedom scares these terrorists. They can't stand the thought of a free society in their midst. But think how far Iraq has come from the days of torture chambers and mass graves and the brutal reign of a barbaric tyrant.

I believe every soul in the world yearns to be free. I believe mothers and dads want to raise their children in a free world. I believe all these things not because freedom is America's gift to the world; I believe it because freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

My fellow citizens, these are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. But ultimately, this election comes down to who can you trust—who can you trust to protect your family? Who can you trust to put plans in place to make sure prosperity spreads its wings?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can create new jobs, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe in high standards for our public schools, I ask you, come stand with me.

If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you are tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me.

And if you are a voter who believes that the President of the United States should say what he means and do what he says and keep his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Four years ago, when I traveled throughout Sioux land asking for the vote, I made this pledge: If elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless and thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:41 p.m. at the Tysons Event Center. In his remarks, he referred to Christopher Rants, speaker, Iowa House of Representatives; entertainer Ricky Skaggs and his band, Kentucky Thunder; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Notice—Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Sudan

November 1, 2004

On November 3, 1997, by Executive Order 13067, the President declared a national emergency with respect to Sudan pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701–1706) to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan. Because the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, the national emergency declared on November 3, 1997, and the measures adopted on that date to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond November 3, 2004. Therefore, consistent with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency with respect to Sudan.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 1, 2004.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:43 p.m., November 1, 2004]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on November 2.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Sudan

November 1, 2004

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. Consistent with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Sudan emergency is to continue in effect beyond November 3, 2004, to the *Federal Register* for publication. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the *Federal Register* on October 31, 2003 (68 *FR* 62211).

The crisis between the United States and Sudan constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan that led to the declaration of a national emergency on November 3, 1997, has not been resolved. These actions and policies are hostile to U.S. interests and pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. Therefore, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency declared with respect to Sudan and maintain in force the comprehensive sanctions against Sudan to respond to this threat.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard B. Cheney, President of the Senate.

Remarks in Albuquerque, New Mexico

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. We're coming down the stretch, and there's no better place to come than Albuquerque, New Mexico. We are honored you've come out tonight. Thanks for being here. Laura and I are so thrilled that so many have come out to say hello. You're lifting our spirits.

And we are here to ask for your vote and to ask for your help. Tomorrow is voting day, and I'm asking you to get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls. Turn out our fellow Republicans, wise independents, and discerning Democrats. And tell them, if they want a safer America and a stronger America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Perhaps the most important reason to put me back in is so that Laura will be First Lady for 4 more years. And there's no better way to come down the stretch with two women I love, our twins, Barbara and Jenna.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. I readily concede he does not have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] You all will be pleased I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his experience. I picked him because of his judgment.

I'm really proud of your Senator, Pete Domenici. What a fantastic man. He's as good as they come in public service. He does a fabulous job for New Mexico, and like me, he married well when he married Nancy.

I'm also proud to know a fantastic Congresswoman in Heather Wilson. I want to thank Heather's husband, Jay, for joining us today. I can't tell you how important it is to send Heather Wilson back to the United States Congress.

It is such an honor to be here with Little Texas and Ricochet. Thank you all for playing. I want to thank my friend Bob Martinez of the New Mexico Fraternal Order of Police. I was so proud to get the endorsement of the FOP across this country. Thank you for coming, Bob.

I want to thank Allen and John and Ken and all the grassroots activists who are here. I want to thank you for putting up the signs. I want to thank you for making the phone calls. *Con su apoyo, vamos a ganar.* Tomorrow we're going to carry New Mexico.

Audience members. *Viva Bush! Viva Bush! Viva Bush!*

The President. Thank you. I feel so incredibly optimistic about the future of our country. I see a brighter and more hopeful day for every American. One of my favorite sayings comes from a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He was from El Paso, right across the line, I might add. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of the time talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming.

I see a great day coming for this country, a day where prosperity reaches every corner of America, a day when every child is able to read and write and add and subtract, a day in which this world becomes more free and so we're able to achieve the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren. Tomorrow the people of America have a chance to bring that better day by voting for strong, confident, optimistic leadership, by voting Bush-Cheney.

Audience members. We want Bush! We want Bush! We want Bush!

The President. The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of a President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The role of the President is to lead based upon principle and conviction and conscience. During these 4 years, I have learned that whatever your strengths are, you are going to need them; whatever your shortcomings are, the people are going to notice them. Sometimes, I am a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I get that from my dad. But all times, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe.

This election comes down to five vital issues for our families. The first clear choice concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for America's families. I kept my word. As a result of our good policies, our economy is growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. We've added 1.9 million new jobs in the last 13 months. Our farmers and our ranchers are making a living. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. Small businesses are flourishing. Homeownership rates are at an alltime high. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent, which is lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. And the unemployment rate in New Mexico is 5.3 percent. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

My opponent has got plans for your family budget, and that's to take a big chunk out of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He's been in the Senate for 20 years, and he's voted to raise taxes 98 times.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's nearly five times every year he's been in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern. I'd call that a leading indicator. And when you couple that with the fact that he's promised to raise $2.2 trillion—he said he's going to pay for it by raising the—by taxing the rich. You can't raise enough money by running up the top two brackets to pay for 2.2 trillion. You raise about 6 to 800 billion. That's way short of what he has promised. I would call that a tax gap. [*Laughter*] And given his record, guess who's going to have to fill that tax gap.

Audience members. We are!

The President. You are. The good news is, we're going to carry New Mexico tomorrow and win.

The second clear choice in this election involves the quality of life for our families. Every school must teach, and I believe every child can learn. I went to Washington to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations and reform our public schools. I kept my word. We're raising standards. We're raising standards. Math and reading scores are on the rise. We're closing the achievement gap by helping minority children. In a new term, we'll build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in America.

We will work to make sure our families have got good health care by making health care more affordable and available. We'll expand health savings accounts. We'll allow small businesses to join together so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will help our families in need, and we will do something about these junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of health care and running good docs out of practice.

We have got a national problem when it comes to these lawsuits. I have met too many ob-gyns during the course of this campaign who have had to quit practice because their premiums are too high as a result of lawsuits. I have met too many expectant moms who are desperately worried about whether they're not going to get the health care they need. See, you can't be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-personal-injury-trial-lawyer at the same time. My opponent veto—voted against medical liability reform 10 times, and he put a personal-injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I am standing with the patients of New Mexico and the doctors of New Mexico. I'm standing for medical liability reform—now.

My opponent's got an idea about health care. You might remember one of the debates when he said that the Government didn't have anything to do with his plan. I could barely contain myself. [*Laughter*] The Government has got a lot to do with it. Eight out of ten people end up on the Federal plan under his vision, and that is the wrong prescription for American families. In all we do to reform health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

The third clear choice in this election involves your retirement. We have made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. And when I ran for President 4 years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drugs for our seniors, and I kept my word. Beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

And I have kept the word on Social Security. I remember those campaigns when they said, "If George W. gets elected, you're not going to get your checks." Well, I got elected, and our seniors got their checks. And they will continue to get their checks.

But we need to do something about the youngsters. We need to do something about Social Security—reforming Social Security for our children and our grandchildren. That's why I'm for personal savings accounts. I believe younger workers ought to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account that will earn a better rate of return, a personal savings account they call their own, an account the Government cannot take away. The job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future generations and future Presidents. In a new term, I'll bring people

together to make sure Social Security is sound and secure for generations to come.

The fourth clear choice in this election is on the values that are crucial to keeping our families strong. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. I proudly signed the ban on partial-birth abortions. And I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent has a different opinion. He was part of an extreme minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act that President Clinton signed into law. He voted against the ban on partial-birth abortion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There is a mainstream in American politics, and John Kerry sits on the far left bank. He can run from his liberal record, but he cannot hide.

The final choice in this election is the most important of all because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If our country shows any uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch.

Our strategy is clear. We have strengthened protections for the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We are transforming our military. There will be no draft. The All-Volunteer Army will remain an all-volunteer army. We are resolute. We are determined. We are staying on the offensive. We are fighting the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

And we are succeeding. Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are making raids and capturing terrorist leaders. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is defending freedom. Al Qaida no longer has training camps in Afghanistan. We are systematically destroying the Al Qaida network across the world. More than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice, and the rest of them know that we're on their trails.

And one reason we're succeeding is we've got a fantastic military, and I want to thank those who wear our Nation's uniform for your service. And I thank the military families who are here tonight, and thank you for your service to our country. And I thank the veterans who are here, who have set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. And I want to assure you all, we'll keep our commitment I have made to our troops and their families they will have that which is necessary to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for $87 billion in supplemental funding to support our troops in combat. It was an important piece of legislation, and we got widespread support. As a matter of fact, Senator Kerry, on national TV, at one time said, "It would be irresponsible to vote against the funding for our troops." And then his poll numbers went down, and he did the irresponsible thing. He voted against the funding.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame. And as he entered the hall of fame, he said this: "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I have spent a lot of time in New Mexico, and I've never heard a person talk that way. [*Laughter*] He's given a lot of reasons why he voted the way he did, but the most telling of all was when he said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

We have a difference of opinion when it comes to protecting the homeland. My opponent believes that America must submit to what he calls a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] He actually said that. I was standing pretty close to him when he did. [*Laughter*] As far as I can tell, that "global test" means that America must get permission before we defend ourselves. Listen, I'll work with our allies. I will strengthen our alliances. But I will never turn over America's national

security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Recently, my opponent said that September the 11th did not change him much at all.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. September the 11th changed me, and it changed my outlook on how to defend this country. I will never forget standing in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. There were workers in hardhats there yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember the person that came out, had been in the rubble, and he grabbed me by the arm. He looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. During the next 4 years, we'll wage a comprehensive strategy to defend our country, and we will use every asset at our disposal. And one of the most powerful assets we have is freedom. Free nations do not breed resentment. Free nations do not export terror. Free nations become allies in the war against terror. By spreading freedom, we help keep the peace. I believe in the power of liberty to transform societies.

I want the younger folks here to realize what has taken place in a brief period of time. Think about what's taken place in the last 3½ years of your life. Take Afghanistan. Afghanistan used to be the home base of Al Qaida, where they could train. Young girls could not go to school in that country because the Taliban were so backward and barbaric. And if their mothers did not toe their line of ideological hatred, they were taken into the public squares and whipped and sometimes executed in a sports stadium. But because we acted to defend ourselves, because we acted to uphold a doctrine that I declared which said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you are equally as guilty as the terrorist," millions of people in Afghanistan—because we upheld that doctrine, millions of people in Afghanistan voted in a Presidential election. And the first voter was a 19-year-old woman. Think about that. Freedom is on the march, and we're safer because of it.

Iraq is still dangerous. It is dangerous because that society is becoming more free and heading toward democracy. And think about how far that country has come since the days of a rule of a brutal tyrant who had torture chambers and mass graves, who used weapons of mass destruction on his own people. Freedom is on the march, and the world is better off for it.

I believe that everybody yearns to be free. I believe that mothers and dads want to raise their children in a free society. I believe all this not because freedom is America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

These are historic times, and a lot is at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. The truth of the matter is this election ultimately comes down to who you can trust. Who can you trust to make this country secure? Who can you trust to make this society a more hopeful place?

If you believe that taxes should stay low so families can pay the bills and small businesses can continue to create jobs, I ask you to come stand with me. If you believe in high standards for public schools, I ask you to come stand with me. If you believe patients and doctors should be in charge of health care, I ask you, come stand with me. If you believe that this Nation must honor the commitments of Medicare and strengthen Social Security for generations to come, I ask you to come stand with me. If you believe that this Nation should honor marriage and family and make a place for the weak and the vulnerable, I ask you to come stand with me. If you believe America should fight the war on terror with all our might and lead with unwavering confidence in our ideals, I ask you to come stand with me.

If you are a Democrat who believes your party has turned too far to the left this year, I ask you to come stand with me. If you are a minority citizen and you believe in free enterprise and good schools and the enduring values of family and faith, and if you are tired of your vote being taken for granted, I ask you to come stand with me. And if you are a voter who believes that the President of

the United States should say what he means and does what he says—do what he says and keeps his word, I ask you to come stand with me.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. When I traveled your great State 4 years ago, I made this pledge, that if I got elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, we're going to win tomorrow, and I will carry that honor and dignity for 4 more years.

God bless, and thank you for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:55 p.m. at the Journal Pavilion. In his remarks, he referred to Nancy Domenici, wife of Senator Pete Domenici; Jay Hone, husband of Representative Heather Wilson; Bob Martinez, State president, New Mexico Fraternal Order of Police; Col. Allen Weh, USMC, (Ret.), chairman, New Mexico Republican Party; John Sanchez, southwest regional chairman, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.; and Ken Zangara, New Mexico State chairman, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc., and chairman, Bernalillo County Republican Party.

Remarks in Dallas, Texas

November 1, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. I really appreciate you being here. It's great to be back where it all started. Tomorrow my fellow Texans are going to the polls to help us start the next 4 years.

Ten years ago when I first ran for Governor, I had my last campaign rally in Dallas, and we won. Tonight, after six other stops, I'm having my last campaign rally in Dallas, and we're going to win.

I appreciate all your help and all your hard work. And I've got a pretty good feeling that Texas is going to be a red State tomorrow. You're going to start a trend.

I want to thank all our friends who are here tonight. You know, we're blessed by having a lot of friends. I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for all you have done for us for so many years and what you're going to do tomorrow and for the years ahead. With your help, this will be the beginning of a new term to make America a safer place, a stronger place, and a better place.

I've had a fantastic time traveling our country. I love to get out amongst the people. I love America. I love its citizens. I've been telling people what I intend to do for the next 4 years, but the most—probably the most important reason to put me back in is so that Laura will be the First Lady for 4 more years. She has put her SMU degree to good work.

And I want to thank Gerald Turner and the trustees of SMU and all the SMU students who are here today for coming out to say hello. I'll try to keep my speech short so you can get back and do your homework. [*Laughter*] Make sure you vote. Make sure you go to the polls.

One of the greatest things about this campaign is I've had a chance to campaign with Barbara and Jenna. I love them dearly. They are fantastic young women. No, you can't have their phone number. [*Laughter*]

I'm proud of my nephew, George P. Bush, and his wife, Mandi. Thanks for coming.

I've got a great runningmate in Dick Cheney. He's done a great job as the Vice President. I'm looking forward to working with him for the next 4 years.

I want to thank my friend Pete Sessions for introducing Laura. It is really important that you send Pete Sessions back to the United States Congress.

I see a lot of friends from the statehouse days. I'm really proud that the Governor of the great State of Texas is with us, Rick Perry. Thanks for coming, Governor. And the Lieutenant Governor, David Dewhurst, is with us. Appreciate you coming. I want to thank all the other statehouse officials. I know the speaker of the house is with us, Speaker Tom Craddick and Nadine. They're from our old hometown of Midland.

I want to thank the really fine United States Senator from the State of Texas, Kay Bailey Hutchison, and the other Senator, who is also a really fine United States Senator, John Cornyn. I want to thank the Members of the Congress who are here, Ralph Hall and Jeb Hensarling, Kay Granger, and Michael Burgess. I'm proud you all are here.

Three candidates for the United States Congress who are here who I proudly support: Kenny Marchant, running for the 24th District; Louis Gohmert, running out of CD 1, Congressional District 1 in east Texas. I wish you all the best, Louis. And I'm looking forward to having a new Congressperson represent me in the Crawford area, and that person is going to be Arlene Wohlgemuth.

I want to thank Toby Keith for being here. It means a lot that he's here. It sounds like he ought to be running. [*Laughter*] I want to thank Tracy Byrd. I want to thank the SMU Mighty Mustang Band. Thanks for coming. I want to thank my friend Chuck Norris, who's here.

Most of all, thank you all for coming. It's been a fantastic day traveling around our country. There's no better place to end it than right here in big "D"—Dallas, Texas.

I understand this about the Presidency: The American President must lead with clarity and purpose. The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls. The President must not change positions for the sake of political convenience. The President must lead based on principle and conviction and conscience.

During these 4 years, I have learned that whatever your strengths are, you're going to need them, and whatever your shortcomings are, people are going to notice them. [*Laughter*] Sometimes I'm a little too blunt. I get that from my mother. Sometimes I mangle the English language. [*Laughter*] I get that from my father. [*Laughter*] But all times, whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead.

I have been letting the people know what I intend to do for the next 4 years. I'm running to make sure this economy stays strong by keeping our taxes low and doing something about these lawsuits that are making it hard on our small-business owners. I'm running to make sure every child can learn and keep the high standards in our public schools so no child is left behind in America.

I'm running to make sure health care is available and affordable, and to reduce the cost of medicine and to keep good doctors in practice, we've got to get rid of these junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine. In all we do to reform health care in Washington, we'll make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, DC.

I believe the President's job is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. We've got a problem with Social Security. Social Security is fine for those who are now on Social Security, and we'll always keep the promise to our seniors. Social Security is okay for baby boomers like me and like some others out there I see. But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account, an account they call their own.

Over the next 4 years, I'll continue to stand for the values that are important to our Nation. I stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. And I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

During the course of this campaign, after all the debates and all the speeches, it is clear there are big differences between me and my opponent. He's from Massachusetts, and I'm from Texas. He is a committed liberal, and I am a compassionate conservative. He's voted to cut our intelligence budget and major weapons systems. I am for a strong national defense. He has promised to raise taxes.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And that is generally a promise most politicians keep. I'm for keeping your taxes low.

And we've got a big difference when it comes to protecting the American people. The most important job of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness during these troubling times, this world of ours will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch. We are steadfast. We are resolved. We will chase the terrorists around the world so we do not have to face them here at home.

There are big differences of opinion about how to protect America. During one of our debates, my opponent said that America must pass a "global test" before we commit troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I'm not making that up. [*Laughter*] I heard him say it. [*Laughter*] He was standing right about there. As far as I can tell, that means this Nation of ours must go to other nations to seek permission before we secure our defense.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. In a new term, I will work with our allies and I will strengthen our alliances, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

Now, we have big differences. I have told the families of our military and those who wear the uniform they will have all they need. The military will have all it needs to complete their missions in Afghanistan and Iraq. That's why I went to the Congress and asked for $87 billion for supplemental funding in September of 2003. It was important funding. It was necessary funding for our troops. And we received great bipartisan support. As a matter of fact, my opponent first said that it would be irresponsible to vote against funding for the troops—until his poll numbers went down. [*Laughter*] And then he actually did the irresponsible thing and he voted against funding for our troops.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And then he entered the flip-flop hall of fame. And as he entered that hall of fame, he said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] I have spent hours in the coffee shops of Texas. I have never heard anybody in this great State talk that way.

He has given a lot of explanations about that vote since then, but I think the most revealing explanation was this. He said, "The whole thing was a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat. [*Laughter*]

We have a difference of—we have a different understanding about this war on terror. My opponent says September the 11th didn't change him much at all.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, September the 11th changed me, and it changed my outlook about how to protect you, about how to do my duty to protect the American people. I will never forget the day I went to the ruins of the Twin Towers. It was September the 14th, 2001. There were workers there in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember a man grabbed me by the arm, and he looked me in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to better protect our country. I will never relent in our Nation's defense, whatever it takes.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. Fantastic way to win—way to end what has been a great campaign. These are historic times. There's a lot at stake in this election. The future safety and prosperity of America are on the ballot. The truth of the matter is, this election comes down to who do you trust? Who do you trust?

Audience member. You!

The President. The American people will trust the candidate who can see a better day, who can clearly see that you can't lead this Nation unless you know where you want to lead it. And I know exactly where I want to take this Nation for the next 4 years.

One of my favorite sayings comes from a fellow Texan, Tom Lea. He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During much of this campaign, my opponent has been talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming. I'm talking about a better day for every American. I see a day where prosperity reaches every corner of our country, a day where every child is able to read and write. And I see a day, because we spread freedom, that this world becomes more peaceful, and we achieve the peace we want for our children and our grandchildren.

Now, I see a better day. And tomorrow the people of America have a chance to bring that better day to all of us by voting for strong, confident, optimistic leadership, by

sending me and Dick Cheney back to Washington, DC.

Four years ago when I traveled our country asking for the vote, I made a pledge that if I was elected, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. Because of your friendship, because of the hard work of many people here, because of the votes tomorrow, I will continue to uphold the honor and the integrity of the Presidency for 4 more years.

Thank you for coming. God bless. On to victory. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:57 p.m. in the Moody Coliseum at Southern Methodist University. In his remarks, he referred to R. Gerald Turner, president, Southern Methodist University; Gov. Rick Perry and Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst of Texas; Tom Craddick, speaker, Texas House of Representatives, and his wife, Nadine; country music entertainers Toby Keith and Tracy Byrd; and actor Chuck Norris. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the First Lady, who introduced the President.

Remarks on Election Day and an Exchange With Reporters in Crawford, Texas

November 2, 2004

The President. It's such a wonderful feeling to vote. This election is in the hands of the people, and I feel very comfortable about that. The people know where I stand. I've enjoyed this campaign. It's been a fantastic experience traveling our country, talking about what I believe and where I'm going to lead this country for 4 more years. You know, there's just something refreshing about giving it your all and then saying the people will make the right decision. And I believe I'm going to win.

Yes, Stretch [David Gregory, NBC News].

2004 Election

Q. Mr. President, I wonder why—why do you believe this election is this close?

The President. Well, first of all, it's been a lot of issues we've debated, big issues of war and peace and the economy. I've got a philosophy everybody understands. I've got a clear view about how to lead. But we'll see how it goes tonight. You know I'm not a very good prognosticator. You're the pundit. You're the person who makes all the forecasts. And we'll see what the people say. That's where we are. Now is the time for the people to express their will.

Yes, Scott [Scott Lindlaw, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, any butterflies?

The President. I don't. I know I've given it my all. I feel calm. I feel—I am confident that the people—in the judgment of the people. I'm one of these candidates, I feed off the enthusiasm of the people. Yesterday was an amazing day in my political life, did seven stops. The enthusiasm was contagious. I'm so grateful for the thousands of people who have been working on my behalf and who are praying for me and Laura. It was a great day yesterday, and the whole campaign was a fantastic experience. I'm very comfortable that I got my message out. The people know where I stand. The people know I know how to lead. The people know I have a vision for the future of this country. And we're going to go one stop in Ohio to tell the volunteers thanks for their work, and we'll go back and wait—await the outcome.

Q. Mr. President, what about all the passion in this country—I mean, you have generated so much passion both for you and against you. How do you account for that?

The President. Well, I take that as a compliment. It means I'm willing to take a stand. A lot of politicians take positions, but they don't take a stand. I take a stand, and I tell people what I believe and what I think. These are very troubling times, and I believe a President must lead by being resolute and firm and strong and clear. And the people know that. That's why I'm comfortable about this election. I've given it my all, and more importantly, I have clarified the differences between what I believe and what my opponent believes.

Any other questions besides Stretch? He seems to be dominating. [*Laughter*] Perhaps the rest of you are somewhat groggy. [*Laughter*]

Central Issue of 2004 Election

Q. Sir, what does it really come down for voters when they walk in the booth today?

For American voters, what is the issue, what does it come down to?

The President. The issue is, who do you trust? This is a campaign of trust. Who do you trust to secure this country? Who do you trust to lead with firmness and steadfast resolution, protect the American people? Who do you trust to adhere to the values, the values that most people agree with? And who do you trust to keep this economy growing?

Q. And you trust the results will come out tonight?

The President. Absolutely. I trust the judgment of the American people. I love our democracy, and I have got great faith in the wisdom of the people of this country.

Big Stretch [Richard Keil, Bloomberg News].

Closure on the 2004 Election

Q. Does it feel to you like we'll know the results tonight? Or will it be a nail-biter like it was 4 years ago?

The President. Well, of course, these are the pundits—there are pundits and prognosticators like you all. You're doing a fabulous job of speculating what may happen. My hope, of course, is that this election ends tonight. I think it's very important for it to end tonight. The world watches our great democracy function. There would be nothing better for our system for the election to be conclusively over tonight so that—I think it's going to be—so I can go on and lead this country and bring people together, set an agenda, which will be to make sure America is secure, expand our prosperity, and move forward and bring Republicans and Democrats together.

Listen, we're off. I've enjoyed it. Thank you for your coverage.

Senator John Kerry

Q. Any words for Senator Kerry this morning?

The President. I wish him all the best. You know, he and I are in the exact same position. We've given it our all, and I'm—I'm sure he is happy, like I am, that the campaign has come to a conclusion. All I can tell you is I know that I've put my full amount of energy in this campaign, and I've enjoyed it. And I am enthused, and I have been uplifted by the spirit of the—of our supporters and by the prayers of our supporters.

Anyway, thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:42 a.m. at the Crawford Fire Station. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Campaign Volunteers and an Exchange With Reporters in Columbus, Ohio

November 2, 2004

The President. Thank you all for doing this. Listen, we've come to thank our volunteers here in Ohio. They represent thousands of people all across the country who are making the calls and turning out the vote. I have been uplifted by the fact that thousands of people are working on my behalf and the fact that thousands pray for me and Laura and our country.

One of the best ways to help send a signal about how appreciative I am is to come and thank people in person. Obviously, Ohio is an important State. It's a State that we intend to carry. I know we've got a lot of work to do. There's a lot of people, as you can tell, in this building, working hard in Columbus, and they're working hard all across the State of Ohio. So this is an exciting time. The polls will be closing in 5 or 6 hours—however long it is. [*Laughter*] And I'm confident we'll carry Ohio, and I'm confident we'll carry the Nation. And I look forward to leading this Nation for 4 more years. I'm running because I've got more to do, more to—more work to be done to keep this country secure, more work to be done to make sure prosperity reaches every corner of the land.

I want to thank all our supporters here in Ohio for their hard work.

Legal Issues

Q. Are you getting updates on legal wrangling out there on the plain?

The President. No, I really haven't. Call my lawyer. [*Laughter*]

Turnout for the 2004 Election

Q. Sir, does a big turnout help both sides, and should it?

The President. Listen, I am for a turnout as big as possible. I believe everybody should vote. We have a duty in this country to vote. I hope every citizen in Ohio and elsewhere does their duty. And I think it's—and I think we'll have a good turnout, and I will be grateful if there's a big turnout. I think it's good for our system.

Election Outcome

Q. Is it going to be a divided country, no matter what happens, if it's a close election?

The President. Oh, you know, I was asked that question by another one of the pundits earlier, trying to guess about the outcome of the election. You need to talk to the experts. I can just tell you what I've seen. I've seen enthusiasm, a willingness for people to put in extra hours of work. And we'll find out how it goes tonight. This election is in the best of hands: It's in the hands of the voters of Ohio and voters all around the country.

Q. Sir, you may think you're no pundit, but you've clearly paid pretty close attention. Give us a sense of how involved you are in tracking the numbers and voter turnout and——

The President. Well, David [David Gregory, NBC News], since I last talked to you, which was outside the voting booth in Crawford—[*laughter*]—which was a couple of hours ago, I've had a couple of cups of coffee. I spent some quality time with my wife. I am going to run this race out to its fullest. I will be able to—both of us will be able to say that we campaigned as hard as we possibly could. I have made the differences as clear as possible about why I think I am the best leader for the country for the next 4 years. You know, we'll find out tonight what the American people think, and I'm looking forward to it.

Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:42 a.m. at the Ohio Bush-Cheney '04 campaign headquarters. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in a Victory Celebration

November 3, 2004

Thank you all. Thank you all for coming. We had a long night and a great night. The voters turned out in record numbers and delivered an historic victory.

Earlier today, Senator Kerry called with his congratulations. We had a really good phone call. He was very gracious. Senator Kerry waged a spirited campaign, and he and his supporters can be proud of their efforts. Laura and I wish Senator Kerry and Teresa and their whole family all our best wishes.

America has spoken, and I'm humbled by the trust and the confidence of my fellow citizens. With that trust comes a duty to serve all Americans, and I will do my best to fulfill that duty every day as your President.

There are many people to thank, and my family comes first. Laura is the love of my life. [*Applause*] I'm glad you love her too. [*Laughter*] I want to thank our daughters, who joined their dad for his last campaign. I appreciate the hard work of my sister and my brothers. I especially want to thank my parents for their loving support.

I'm grateful to the Vice President and Lynne and their daughters, who have worked so hard and been such a vital part of our team. The Vice President serves America with wisdom and honor, and I'm proud to serve beside him.

I want to thank my superb campaign team. I want to thank you all for your hard work. I was impressed every day by how hard and how skillful our team was. I want to thank Marc, Chairman Marc Racicot, and the campaign manager, Ken Mehlman, and the architect, Karl Rove. I want to thank Ed Gillespie for leading our party so well.

I want to thank the thousands of our supporters across our country. I want to thank you for your hugs on the ropelines. I want to thank you for your prayers on the ropelines. I want to thank you for your kind words on the ropelines. I want to thank you for everything you did to make the calls and to put up the signs, to talk to your neighbors, and to get out the vote. And because you did the incredible work, we are celebrating today.

There's an old saying, "Do not pray for tasks equal to your powers. Pray for powers equal to your tasks." In 4 historic years, America has been given great tasks and faced them with strength and courage. Our people have restored the vigor of this economy and shown resolve and patience in a new kind of war. Our military has brought justice to the enemy and honor to America. Our Nation has defended itself and served the freedom of all mankind. I'm proud to lead such an amazing country, and I'm proud to lead it forward.

Because we have done the hard work, we are entering a season of hope. We'll continue our economic progress. We'll reform our outdated Tax Code. We'll strengthen the Social Security for the next generation. We'll make public schools all they can be. And we will uphold our deepest values of family and faith.

We will help the emerging democracies of Iraq and Afghanistan so they can grow in strength and defend their freedom. And then our service men and women will come home with the honor they have earned. With good allies at our side, we will fight this war on terror with every resource of our national power so our children can live in freedom and in peace.

Reaching these goals will require the broad support of Americans. So today I want to speak to every person who voted for my opponent: To make this Nation stronger and better, I will need your support and I will work to earn it. I will do all I can do to deserve your trust. A new term is a new opportunity to reach out to the whole Nation. We have one country, one Constitution, and one future that binds us. And when we come together and work together, there is no limit to the greatness of America.

Let me close with a word to the people of the State of Texas. We have known each other the longest, and you started me on this journey. On the open plains of Texas, I first learned the character of our country, sturdy and honest and as hopeful as the break of day. I will always be grateful to the good people of my State. And whatever the road that lies ahead, that road will take me home.

The campaign has ended, and the United States of America goes forward with confidence and faith. I see a great day coming for our country, and I am eager for the work ahead.

God bless you, and may God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:08 p.m. at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to Marc Racicot, campaign chairman, and Ken Mehlman, campaign manager, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.; and Ed Gillespie, chairman, Republican National Committee. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting

November 4, 2004

I just met with my Cabinet. I am proud of every person here. They've done a great job for the country. I reminded them that even though our election just ended, we've still got work to do. I talked about an agenda that we will complete and an agenda that we will take forward.

I made it clear to them I was glad the election was over and reminded them that we're here for a reason. And to a person, they understand that it's such an honor to serve America, it's a privilege to sit around this table, and that we will all continue to do the people's business.

But anyway, I want to thank them all for their hard work. I am—when I told the people that I put together a fantastic group of men and women, I meant every word of that, and I want to thank them all for their service.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:48 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's News Conference

November 4, 2004

The President. Thank you all. Please be seated. Yesterday I pledged to reach out to the whole Nation, and today I'm proving that

I'm willing to reach out to everybody by including the White House press corps. [*Laughter*]

This week the voters of America set the direction of our Nation for the next 4 years. I'm honored by the support of my fellow citizens, and I'm ready for the job.

We are fighting a continuing war on terror, and every American has a stake in the outcome of this war. Republicans, Democrats, and independents all love our country, and together we'll protect the American people. We will preserve—we will persevere until the enemy is defeated. We will stay strong and resolute. We have a duty, a solemn duty to protect the American people, and we will.

Every civilized country also has a stake in the outcome of this war. Whatever our past disagreements, we share a common enemy, and we have common duties to protect our peoples, to confront disease and hunger and poverty in troubled regions of the world. I'll continue to reach out to our friends and allies, our partners in the EU and NATO, to promote development and progress, to defeat the terrorists, and to encourage freedom and democracy as alternatives to tyranny and terror.

I also look forward to working with the present Congress and the new Congress that will arrive in January. I congratulate the men and women who have just been elected to the House and the Senate. I will join with old friends and new friends to make progress for all Americans.

Congress will return later this month to finish this current session. I urge Members to pass the appropriations bill that remain, showing spending discipline while focusing on our Nation's priorities. Our Government also needs the very best intelligence, especially in a time of war. So I urge the Congress to pass an effective intelligence reform bill that I can sign into law.

The new Congress that begins its work next year will have serious responsibilities and historic opportunities. To accelerate the momentum of this economy and to keep creating jobs, we must take practical measures to help our job creators, the entrepreneurs and the small-business owners. We must confront the frivolous lawsuits that are driving up the cost of health care and hurting doctors and patients. We must continue the work of education reform to bring high standards and accountability not just to our elementary and secondary schools but to our high schools as well.

We must reform our complicated and outdated Tax Code. We need to get rid of the needless paperwork that makes our economy—that is a drag on our economy, to make sure our economy is the most competitive in the world.

We must show our leadership by strengthening Social Security for our children and our grandchildren. This is more than a problem to be solved. It is an opportunity to help millions of our fellow citizens find security and independence that comes from owning something, from ownership.

In the election of 2004, large issues were set before our country. They were discussed every day on the campaign. With the campaign over, Americans are expecting a bipartisan effort and results. I'll reach out to everyone who shares our goals. And I'm eager to start the work ahead. I'm looking forward to serving this country for 4 more years.

I want to thank you all for your hard work in the campaign. I told you that the other day, and you probably thought I was just seeking votes. [*Laughter*] But now that you voted, I really meant it. I appreciate the hard work of the press corps. We all put in long hours, and you're away from your families for a long period of time. But the country is better off when we have a vigorous and free press covering our elections. And thanks for your work. Without overpandering, I'll answer a few questions. [*Laughter*]

Hunt [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Middle East/Iraq

Q. Mr. President, thank you. As you look at your second term, how much is the war in Iraq going to cost? Do you intend to send more troops or bring troops home? And in the Middle East, more broadly, do you agree with Tony Blair that revitalizing the Middle East peace process is the single most pressing political issue facing the world?

The President. Now that I've got the will of the people at my back, I'm going to start enforcing the one-question rule. That was three questions. [*Laughter*]

I'll start with Tony Blair's comments. I agree with him that the Middle East peace is a very important part of a peaceful world. I have been working on Middle Eastern peace ever since I've been the President. I've laid down some—a very hopeful strategy on—in June of 2002, and my hope is that we will make good progress. I think it's very important for our friends the Israelis to have a peaceful Palestinian state living on their border. And it's very important for the Palestinian people to have a peaceful, hopeful future. That's why I articulated a two-state vision in that Rose Garden speech. I meant it when I said it, and I mean it now.

What was the other part of your question?

Q. Iraq.

The President. Oh, Iraq, yes. Listen, we will work with the Allawi Government to achieve our objective, which is elections, on the path to stability, and we'll continue to train the troops. Our commanders will have that which they need to complete their missions.

And in terms of the cost, I—we'll work with OMB and the Defense Department to bring forth to Congress a realistic assessment of what the cost will be.

Supreme Court Nominations/The Cabinet

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. How will you go about bringing people together? Will you seek a consensus candidate for the Supreme Court if there's an opening? Will you bring some Democrats into your Cabinet?

The President. Again, he violated the one-question rule right off the bat. Obviously, you didn't listen to the will of the people. But first of all, there's no vacancy for the Supreme Court, and I will deal with a vacancy when there is one. And I told the people on the campaign trail that I'll pick somebody who knows the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. You might have heard that several times. I meant what I said. And if people are interested in knowing the kind of judges I'll pick, look at the record. I've sent up a lot of judges, well-qualified people who know the law, who represent a judicial temperament that I agree with, and who are qualified to hold the bench.

The second part of your two-part question?

Q. Any Democrats to your Cabinet, by any chance?

The President. I haven't made any decisions on the Cabinet yet.

Bipartisanship

Q. How else will you bring people together?

The President. We'll put out an agenda that everybody understands and work with people to achieve the agenda. Democrats want a free and peaceful world, and we'll—and right away, right after September the 11th we worked very closely together to secure our country. There is a common ground to be had when it comes to a foreign policy that says the most important objective is to protect the American people and spread freedom and democracy. There's common ground when it comes to making sure the intelligence services are able to provide good, actionable intelligence to protect our people. It's not a Republican issue. It's a Republican and Democrat issue. So I'm—plenty of places for us to work together.

All right, Gregory [David Gregory, NBC News].

War on Terror/Promoting Democracy

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. On foreign policy, more broadly, do you believe that America has an image problem in the world right now because of your efforts in response to the 9/11 attacks? And, as you talked down the stretch about building alliances, talk about what you'll do to build on those alliances and to deal with these image problems, particularly in the Islamic world.

The President. I appreciate that. Listen, I've made some very hard decisions, decisions to protect ourselves, decisions to spread peace and freedom. And I understand that in certain capitals and certain countries, those decisions were not popular.

You know, you said—you asked me to put that in the context of the response on September the 11th. The first response, of course, was chasing down the terror networks, which we will continue to do. And we've got great response around the world in order to do that. There's over 90 nations

involved with sharing information, finding terrorists, and bringing them to justice. That is a broad coalition, and we'll continue to strengthen it.

I laid out a doctrine, David, that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorists," and that doctrine was ignored by the Taliban, and we removed the Taliban. And I fully understand some people didn't agree with that decision. But I believe that when the American President speaks, he'd better mean what he says in order to keep the world peaceful. And I believe we have a solemn duty, whether or not people agree with it or not, to protect the American people. And the Taliban and their harboring of Al Qaida represented a direct threat to the American people.

And of course, then the Iraq issue is one that people disagreed with. And there's no need to rehash my case, but I did so, I made the decision I made, in order to protect our country, first and foremost. I will continue to do that as the President. But as I do so, I will reach out to others and explain why I make the decisions I make.

There is a certain attitude in the world, by some, that says that it's a waste of time to try to promote free societies in parts of the world. I've heard that criticism. Remember, I went to London to talk about our vision of spreading freedom throughout the greater Middle East. And I fully understand that that might rankle some and be viewed by some as folly. I just strongly disagree with those who do not see the wisdom of trying to promote free societies around the world.

If we are interested in protecting our country for the long term, the best way to do so is to promote freedom and democracy. And I simply do not agree with those who either say overtly or believe that certain societies cannot be free. It's just not a part of my thinking. And that's why during the course of the campaign, I was—I believe I was able to connect, at least with those who were there, in explaining my policy, when I talked about the free elections in Afghanistan.

There were—there was doubt about whether or not those elections would go forward. I'm not suggesting any of you here expressed skepticism, but there was. There was deep skepticism, and because there is a attitude among some that certain people may never be free—they just don't long to be free or incapable of running an election, and I disagree with that. And the Afghan people, by going to the polls in the millions, proved that this administration's faith in freedom to change people's habits is worthy. And that will be a central part of my foreign policy. And I've got work to do to explain to people about why that is a central part of our foreign policy. I've been doing that for 4 years.

But if you do not believe people can be free and can self-govern, then all of a sudden the two-state solution in the Middle East becomes a moot point, invalid. If you're willing to condemn a group of people to a system of government that hasn't worked, then you'll never be able to achieve the peace. You cannot lead this world and our country to a better tomorrow unless you see a better—unless you have a vision of a better tomorrow. And I've got one, based upon a great faith that people do want to be free and live in democracy.

John [John Roberts, CBS News], and then I'll get to Terry [Terry Moran, ABC News]. No followups today, Gregory.

Q. Thank you, sir.

The President. I can see one—yes.

Troop Levels in Iraq

Q. Would you like it? Now that the political volatility is off the issue because the election is over, I'd like to ask you about troop levels in Iraq in the next couple of months leading up to elections. The Pentagon already has a plan to extend tours of duty for some 6,500 U.S. troops. How many more will be needed to provide security in Iraq for elections, seeing as how the Iraqi troops that you're trying to train up are pretty slow coming on line?

The President. Yes, first of all, the—we are making good progress in training the Iraqi troops. There will be 125,000 of them trained by election time.

Secondly, I have yet to—I have not sat down with our Secretary of Defense talking about troop levels. I read some reports during the course of the campaign where some were speculating in the press corps about the

number of troops needed to protect elections. That has not been brought to my attention yet. And so I would caution you that what you have either read about or reported was pure speculation thus far. These elections are important, and we will respond, John, to requests of our commanders on the ground. And I have yet to hear from our commanders on the ground that they need more troops.

Terry.

Religious Values

Q. Mr. President, your victory at the polls came about in part because of strong support from people of faith, in particular, Christian evangelicals and Pentecostals and others. And Senator Kerry drew some of his strongest support from those who do not attend religious services. What do you make of this religious divide, it seems, becoming a political divide in this country? And what do you say to those who are concerned about the role of a faith they do not share in public life and in your policies?

The President. Yes. My answer to people is, I will be your President regardless of your faith, and I don't expect you to agree with me necessarily on religion. As a matter of fact, no President should ever try to impose religion on our society. A great—the great tradition of America is one where people can worship the way they want to worship. And if they choose not to worship, they're just as patriotic as your neighbor. That is an essential part of why we are a great nation. And I am glad people of faith voted in this election. I'm glad—I appreciate all people who voted. I don't think you ought to read anything into the politics, the moment, about whether or not this Nation will become a divided nation over religion. I think the great thing that unites us is the fact you can worship freely if you choose, and if you—you don't have to worship. And if you're a Jew or a Christian or a Muslim, you're equally American. That is such a wonderful aspect of our society. And it is strong today, and it will be strong tomorrow.

Jim [Jim Angle, FOX News].

Social Security Reform

Q. Thank you, sir. Mr. President, you talked once again this morning about private accounts in Social Security. During the campaign, you were accused of planning to privatize the entire system. It has been something you've discussed for some time. You've lost some of the key Democratic proponents, such as Pat Moynihan and Bob Kerrey, in the Congress. How will you proceed now with one of the key problems, which is the transition cost—which some say is as much as $2 trillion—how will you proceed on that? And how soon?

The President. Well, first, I made Social Security an issue. For those of you who had to suffer through my speeches on a daily basis, for those of you who actually listened to my speeches on a daily basis, you might remember, every speech I talked about the duty of an American President to lead. And we have—we must lead on Social Security because the system is not going to be whole for our children and our grandchildren.

And so the answer to your second question is, we'll start on Social Security now. We'll start bringing together those in Congress who agree with my assessment that we need to work together. We've got a good blueprint, a good go-by. You mentioned Senator Moynihan. I had asked him prior to his passing to chair a committee of notable Americans to come up with some ideas on Social Security, and they did so. And it's a good place for Members of Congress to start.

The President must have the will to take on the issue not only in the campaign but now that I'm elected. And this will—reforming Social Security will be a priority of my administration. Obviously, if it were easy, it would have already been done. And this is going to be hard work to bring people together and to make—to convince the Congress to move forward, and there are going to be costs. But the cost of doing nothing is insignificant to—is much greater than the cost of reforming the system today. That was the case I made on the campaign trail, and I was earnest about getting something done. And as a matter of fact, I talked to members of my staff today, as we're beginning to plan to—the strategy to move agendas forward, about how to do this and do it effectively.

Q. If I could, Mr. President——

The President. Yes—no, no, you're violating the followup rule. It would hurt Gregory's feelings.

King [John King, Cable News Network]. It's a new——

Q. Mr. President, thank you.

Q. That's always one of my concerns.

The President. Hurting Gregory's feelings? He is a sensitive guy, well centered, though. [*Laughter*]

2004 Election Night/1992 Election

Q. I'm not going there. Mr. President, you were disappointed, even angry, 12 years ago when the voters denied your father a second term. I'm interested in your thoughts and the conversation with him yesterday as you were walking to the Oval Office, and also whether you feel more free to do any one thing in a second term that perhaps you were politically constrained from doing in a first.

The President. At 3:30 in the morning on—I guess it was the day after the election, he was sitting upstairs, and I finally said, "Go to bed." He was awaiting the outcome and was hopeful that we would go over and be able to talk to our supporters, and it just didn't happen that way.

So I asked him the next morning when he got up, I said, "Come by the Oval Office and visit." And he came by, and we had a good talk. He was heading down to Houston. And it was—there was some uncertainty about that morning as to when the election would actually end. And it wasn't clear at that point in time, so I never got to see him face to face to watch his, I guess, pride in his tired eyes as his son got a second term.

I did talk to him, and he was relieved. I told him to get a nap. I was worried about him staying up too late. But—so I haven't had a chance to really visit and embrace.

And you're right, '92 was a disappointment. But he taught me a really good lesson, that life moves on. And it's very important for those of us in the political arena, win or lose, to recognize that life is bigger than just politics, and that's one of the really good lessons he taught me.

Electoral Process/President's Agenda

Q. Do you feel more free, sir?

The President. Oh, in terms of feeling free, well, I don't think you'll let me be too free. There's accountability and there are constraints on the Presidency, as there should be in any system. I feel it is necessary to move an agenda that I told the American people I would move. There's something refreshing about coming off an election, even more refreshing since we all got some sleep last night, but there's—you go out and you make your case, and you tell the people, "This is what I intend to do." And after hundreds of speeches and three debates and interviews and the whole process, where you keep basically saying the same thing over and over again, that—when you win, there is a feeling that the people have spoken and embraced your point of view. And that's what I intend to tell the Congress, that I made it clear what I intend to do as the President, now let's work to—and the people made it clear what they wanted—now let's work together.

And it's one of the wonderful—it's like earning capital. You asked, do I feel free. Let me put it to you this way: I earned capital in the campaign, political capital, and now I intend to spend it. It is my style. That's what happened in the—after the 2000 election, I earned some capital. I've earned capital in this election, and I'm going to spend it for what I told the people I'd spend it on, which is—you've heard the agenda: Social Security and tax reform, moving this economy forward, education, fighting and winning the war on terror. We have an obligation in this country to continue to work with nations to help alleve poverty and disease. We will continue to press forward on the HIV/AIDS initiative, the Millennium Challenge Account. We will continue to do our duty to help feed the hungry. And I'm looking forward to it. I really am.

It's been a fantastic experience campaigning the country. You've seen it from one perspective. I've seen it from another. I saw you standing there at the last, final rally in Texas, to my right over there. I was observing you observe, and you saw the energy. And there was just something uplifting about people showing up at 11 o'clock at night, expressing their support and their prayers and their

friendship. It's a marvelous experience to campaign across the country.

Mike [Mike Allen, Washington Post].

The Cabinet

Q. Mr. President—thank you, Mr. President. Do you plan to reshape your Cabinet for the second term, or will any changes come at the instigation of individuals? And as part of the same question, may I ask you what you've learned about Cabinet government, what works, what doesn't work? And do you mind also addressing the same question about the White House staff? [*Laughter*]

The President. The post-election euphoria did not last very long here at the press conference. [*Laughter*]

Let me talk about the people that have worked with me. I had a Cabinet meeting today, and I thanked them for their service to the country and reminded them we've got a job to do and I expected them to do the job.

I have made no decisions on my Cabinet and/or White House staff. I am mindful that working in the White House is really—is exhausting work. The people who you try to get to leak to you spend hours away from their families, and it is—there is—the word "burnout" is oftentimes used in the—in Washington, and it's used for a reason, because people do burn out. And so obviously, in terms of those who are—who want to stay on and who I want to stay on, I've got to make sure that it's right for their families and that they're comfortable, because when they come to work here in the White House, I expect them to work as hard as they possibly can on behalf of the American people.

In the Cabinet, there will be some changes. I don't know who they will be. It's inevitable there will be changes. That happens in every administration. To a person, I am proud of the work they have done. And I fully understand we're about to head into the period of intense speculation as to who's going to stay and who's not going to stay, and I assured them that—today I warned them of the speculative period. It's a great Washington sport to be talking about who's going to leave and who their replacements may be and handicapping, you know, my way of thinking.

I'll just give you—but let me just help you out with the speculation right now. I haven't thought about it. I'm going to start thinking about it. I'm going to Camp David this afternoon with Laura, and I'll begin the process of thinking about the Cabinet and the White House staff. And we'll let you know at the appropriate time when decisions have been made. And so, nice try, Mike.

Yes, Ed [Ed Chen, Los Angeles Times], and then——

Q. What you learned——

The President. Learned and not learned about the Cabinet?

Q. What works, what doesn't.

The President. Yes, well, first I've learned that I put together a really good Cabinet. I'm very proud of the people that have served this Government, and they, to a man and a woman, worked their hearts out for the American people. And I've learned that you've got to continue to surround yourself with good people. This is a job that requires crisp decisionmaking, and therefore, in order for me to make decisions, I've got to have people who bring their point of view into the Oval Office and are willing to say it.

I always jest to people, the Oval Office is the kind of place where people stand outside—they're getting ready to come in and tell me what for, and they walk in and get overwhelmed in the atmosphere, and they say, "Man, you're looking pretty." And therefore, you need people to walk in on those days when you're not looking so good and saying, "You're not looking so good, Mr. President." And I've got—those are the kind of people that served our country.

We've had vigorous debates, which you all, during the last 4 years, took great delight in reporting, differences of opinion. But that's what you want if you're the Commander in Chief and a decisionmaker. You want people to walk in and say, "I don't agree with this," or "I do agree with that, and here's what my recommendation is." But the President also has to learn to decide. You take—you know, there's ample time for the debate to take place and then decide and make up your mind and lead. That's what the job's all about.

And so I have learned how important it is to be—to have a really fine group of people

that think through issues and that are not intimidated by the process and who walk in and tell me what's on their mind.

Ed, and then Stevenson [Richard Stevenson, New York Times].

Small-Business Agenda

Q. Good morning. Sir, does it bother you that there's a perception out there that your administration has been one that favors big business and the wealthy individuals? And what can you do to overcome that, sir?

The President. Ed, 70 percent of the new jobs in America are created by small businesses. I understand that. And I have promoted during the course of the last 4 years one of the most aggressive pro-entrepreneur, small-business policies. Tax relief—you might remember—I don't know if you know this or not, but 90 percent of the businesses are sole proprietorships or Subchapter S corporations. [*Laughter*]

Q. We've heard it.

The President. Tax relief helped them. This is an administration that fully understands that the job creators are the entrepreneurs. And so in a new term, we will make sure the tax relief continues to be robust for our small businesses. We'll push legal reform and regulatory reform because I understand the engine of growth is through the small-business sector.

Stevenson.

Model for Bipartisanship

Q. Sir, given your commitment to reaching out across party lines and to all Americans, I wonder if you could expand on your definition of bipartisanship and whether it means simply picking off a few Democrats on a case-by-case basis to pass the bills you want to pass or whether you would commit to working regularly with the Democratic leadership on solutions that can win broad support across party lines?

The President. Do you remember the No Child Left Behind Act? I think that's the model I'd look at if I were you. It is a—I laid out an agenda for reforming our public schools. I worked with both Republicans and Democrats to get that bill passed. In a new term, we'll continue to make sure we do not weaken the accountability standards that are making a huge difference in people's lives, in these kids' lives. But that's the model I'd look at, if I were you.

And we'll—there's a certain practicality to life here in Washington. And that is, when you get a bill moving, it is important to get the votes, and if politics starts to get in the way of getting good legislation through, you know, that's just part of life here. But I'm also focused on results. I think of the Medicare bill. You might remember that old, stale debate. We finally got a bill moving. I was hoping that we'd get strong bipartisan support. Unfortunately, it was an election year, but we got the votes necessary to get the bill passed. And so we will—I will—my goal is to work on the ideal and to reach out and to continue to work and find common ground on issues.

On the other hand, I've been wisened to the ways of Washington. I watched what can happen during certain parts of the cycle, where politics gets in the way of good policy. And at that point in time, I'll continue to—you know, I'll try to get this done. I'll try to get our bills passed in a way, because results really do matter, as far as I'm concerned. I really didn't come here to hold the office just to say, "Gosh, it was fun to serve." I came here to get some things done, and we are doing it.

Yes, Big Stretch [Bill Sammon, Washington Times].

Yasser Arafat

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. I know you haven't had a chance to learn this, but it appears that Yasser Arafat has passed away.

The President. Really?

Q. And I was just wondering if I could get your initial reaction? And also your thoughts on, perhaps, working with a new generation of Palestinian leadership?

The President. I appreciate that. My first reaction is, God bless his soul. And my second reaction is, is that we will continue to work for a free Palestinian state that's at peace with Israel.

Yes.

Legislative Agenda

Q. Mr. President, as you look at your second-term domestic priorities, I wonder if you

could talk a little bit about how you see the sequence of action on issues beyond Social Security—tax reform, education. And if you could expand a little bit for us on the principles that you want to underpin your tax reform proposal—do you want it to be revenue neutral? What kinds of things do you want to accomplish through that process?

The President. I appreciate that. I was anticipating this question, that, what is the first thing you're going to do? When it comes it legislation, it just doesn't work that way, particularly when you've laid out a comprehensive agenda. And part of that comprehensive agenda is tax simplification.

The—first of all, a principle would be revenue neutral. If I'm going to—if there was a need to raise taxes, I'd say, "Let's have a tax bill that raises taxes," as opposed to, "Let's simplify the Tax Code and sneak a tax increase on the people." It's just not my style. I don't believe we need to raise taxes. I've said that to the American people, and so the simplification would be the goal.

Now, secondly, that—obviously, that it rewards risk and doesn't—it doesn't have unnecessary penalties in it. But the main thing is that it would be viewed as fair, that it would be a fair system, that it wouldn't be complicated, that there's a kind of—that loopholes wouldn't be there for special interests, that the code itself be viewed and deemed as a very fair way to encourage people to invest and save and achieve certain fiscal objectives in our country as well.

One of the interesting debates will be, of course, in the course of simplification, will there be incentives in the code—charitable giving, of course, and mortgage deductions are very important. As Governor of Texas, when I—sometime I think I was asked about simplification, I always noted how important it was for certain incentives to be built into the Tax Code, and that will be an interesting part of the debate.

Certain issues come quicker than others in the course of a legislative session, and that depends upon whether or not those issues have been debated. I think of, for example, of the legal issue—the legal reform issues. They have been—medical liability reform had been debated and got thwarted a couple of times in one body in particular on Capitol Hill. And so the groundwork has been laid for some legislation that I've been talking about. On an issue like tax reform it's going to—tax simplification—it's going to take a lot of legwork to get something ready for a legislative package. I fully understand that. And Social Security reform will require some additional legwork, although the Moynihan Commission has laid the groundwork for what I think is a very good place to start the debate.

The education issue is one that could move pretty quickly because there has been a lot of discussion about education. It's an issue that the Members are used to debating and discussing. And so I think—all issues are important. And the timing of issues as they reach it through committee and floor really depend upon whether or not some work has already been on those issues.

A couple more questions. Bob [Bob Deans, Cox Newspapers].

Fallujah/Freedom in Iraq

Q. Mr. President, American forces are gearing up for what appears to be a major offensive in Fallujah over the next several days. I'm wondering if you could tell us what the objective is, what the stakes are there for the United States, for the Iraqi people, and the Iraqi elections coming up in January?

The President. In order for Iraq to be a free country, those who are trying to stop the elections and stop a free society from emerging must be defeated. And so Prime Minister Allawi and his Government, which fully understands that, are working with our generals on the ground to do just that. We will work closely with the Government. It's their Government. It's their country. We're there at their invitation. And—but I think there's a recognition that some of these people have to—must be defeated, and so that's what they're thinking about. That's what you're—that's why you're hearing discussions about potential action in Fallujah.

Heidi [Heidi Pryzbyla, Bloomberg].

Federal Deficit

Q. Thank you, sir. Many within your own party are unhappy over the deficit, and they say keeping down discretional spending

alone won't help you reach your goal of halving the deficit in 5 years. What else do you plan to do to cut costs?

The President. Well, I would suggest they look at our budget that we've submitted to Congress, which does, in fact, get the deficit down—cut in half in 5 years and is a specific, line-by-line budget that we are required to submit and have done so.

The key to making sure that the deficit is reduced is for there to be, on the one hand, spending discipline, and I—as you noticed in my opening remarks, I talked about these appropriations bills that are beginning to move. And I thought I was pretty clear about the need for those bills to be fiscally responsible, and I meant it. And I look forward to talking to the leadership about making sure that the budget agreements we had are still the budget agreements, that just because we had an election, that they shouldn't feel comfortable changing our agreement. And I think they understand that.

Secondly, the other way to make sure that the deficit is—decreases is to grow the economy. As the economy grows, there will be more revenues coming into the Treasury. That's what you have seen recently. If you notice, there's been some write-downs of the budget deficit. In other words, the deficit is less than we thought because the revenues is exceeding projections. And the reason why the revenues is—the revenues are exceeding projections—"Sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that"——[*laughter*].

Q. Inside joke.

The President. Yes, very inside. [*Laughter*]

The revenues are exceeding projections, and as a result, the projected deficit is less. But my point there is, is that with good economic policy that encourages economic growth, the revenue streams begin to increase. And as the revenue streams increase, coupled with fiscal discipline, you'll see the deficit shrinking. And we're focused on that.

I do believe there ought to be budgetary reform in Washington, on the Hill, Capitol Hill. I think it's very important. I would like to see the President have a line-item veto again, one that passed constitutional muster. I think it would help the executive branch work with the legislative branch to make sure that we're able to maintain budget discipline.

I've talked to a lot of Members of Congress who are wondering whether or not we'll have the will to confront entitlements, to make sure that there is entitlement reform that helps us maintain fiscal discipline. And the answer is yes. That's why I took on the Social Security issue. I believe we have a duty to do so. I want to make sure that the Medicare reforms that we've put in place remain robust, to help us make sure Medicare is available for generations to come.

And so there is a—I've got quite an active agenda to help work with Congress to bring not only fiscal discipline, but to make sure that our progrowth policies are still in place.

Herman [Ken Herman, Austin American-Statesman]. I'm probably going to regret this. [*Laughter*]

Q. I don't know if you had a chance to check, but I can report you did eke out a victory in Texas the other day.

The President. Thank you, sir.

Bipartisanship

Q. Congratulations. I'm interested in getting back to Stevenson's question about unity. Clearly, you believe you have reached out and will continue to reach out. Do you believe the Democrats have made a sincere and sufficient effort to meet you somewhere halfway, and do you think now there's more reason for them to do that in light of the election results?

The President. I think that Democrats agree that we have an obligation to serve our country. I believe there will be good will, now that this election is over, to work together. I found that to be the case when I first arrived here in Washington, and working with the Democrats and fellow Republicans, we got a lot done. And it is with that spirit that I go into this coming session, and I will meet with both Republican and Democrat leaders, and I am—they'll see I'm genuine about working toward some of these important issues.

It's going to be—it's not easy. These—I readily concede I've laid out some very difficult issues for people to deal with. Reforming the Social Security system for generations to come is a difficult issue; otherwise, it

would have already been done. But it is necessary to confront it. And I would hope to be able to work with Democrats to get this done. I'm not sure we can get it done without Democrat participation, because it is a big issue, and I will explain to them and I will show them Senator Moynihan's thinking as a way to begin the process. And I will remind everybody here that we have a duty to leave behind a better America and when we see a problem, to deal with it. And I think the—I think Democrats agree with that.

And so I'm optimistic. You covered me when I was the Governor of Texas. I told you that I was going to do that as a Governor. There was probably skepticism in your beady eyes there. [*Laughter*] But you might remember, we did—we were able to accomplish a lot by—and Washington is different from Austin, no question about it. Washington—one of the disappointments of being here in Washington is how bitter this town can become and how divisive. I'm not blaming one party or the other. It's just the reality of Washington, DC, sometimes exacerbated by you because it's great sport. It's really—it's entertaining for some. It also makes it difficult to govern at times.

But nevertheless, my commitment is there. I fully—am now more seasoned to Washington. I've cut my political eyeteeth, at least the ones I've recently grown here in Washington. And so I'm aware of what can happen in this town. But nevertheless, having said that, I am fully prepared to work with both Republican and Democrat leadership to advance an agenda that I think makes a big difference for the country.

Listen, thank you all. I look forward to working with you. I've got a question for you. How many of you are going to be here for a second term? Please raise your hand. [*Laughter*] Good. Gosh, we're going to have a lot of fun, then. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 11:17 a.m. in Room 450 of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; and Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government. As regards journalist Bill Sammon's question asking for the President's reaction to the death of Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority, the reports of Chairman Arafat's death were inaccurate.

Statement on the Death of Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan of the United Arab Emirates

November 4, 2004

The United States mourns the passing of a great friend of our country, Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan of the United Arab Emirates. Shaykh Zayid was the founder and President of the UAE for more than 30 years, a pioneer, an elder statesman, and a close ally. He and his fellow rulers of the seven Emirates built their federation into a prosperous, tolerant, and well-governed state. I offer my condolences and those of the American people to the family of Shaykh Zayid and to the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates on their great loss.

Statement Congratulating President Hamid Karzai on His Election as President of Afghanistan

November 4, 2004

I congratulate President Karzai on his election victory. I commend the millions of Afghan men and women who voted in the first democratic election in their Nation's history. Through this simple act of voting, the Afghan people declared to the world their determination to move beyond a brutal legacy of oppression, terror, and fear to a future of hope, democracy, and freedom. The large turnout by Afghan women, who made up 40 percent of all voters, confirms that there is a vital role for women in the politics of a nation proud of its Islamic heritage. The election also makes clear that a free Afghanistan is a partner in the war on terror, a beacon of hope in a troubled region of the world, and an example to other countries working to realize the promise of freedom.

Proclamation 7838—National Adoption Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

By deciding to share their hearts and homes with a child, adoptive parents demonstrate great compassion and receive many blessings in return. During National Adoption Month, we recognize the generosity of adoptive and foster families who are providing hope and love, and we encourage the adoption of children of all ages.

In 2002, I signed the Promoting Safe and Stable Families legislation that supports families and promotes adoption, and last December I signed the Adoption Promotion Act of 2003 to increase incentives to adopt older children. We have raised the adoption tax credit to $10,000 per child and created the AdoptUSKids website that has joined thousands of children with adoptive parents. We are working hard to place more children from foster care to permanent homes. This year, on November 20, communities from all 50 States and the District of Columbia will celebrate National Adoption Day by finalizing the adoption of thousands of children by loving families. And each one of those families will be enriched by the addition of new members. By bringing care and hope into other lives, individuals can fill their own lives with greater purpose.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National Adoption Month. I call on all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities to honor adoptive families and to participate in efforts to find permanent homes for waiting children.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Proclamation 7839—National Alzheimer's Disease Awareness Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Today, it is estimated that over 4 million Americans suffer from Alzheimer's disease. A progressive, degenerative disorder of the brain, Alzheimer's robs individuals of their memory and their mental and physical functions, leading to increasing dependence on others for care. Factors such as age and family history can contribute to the risk of developing this disease. While no cure exists yet, researchers are learning more about this disease and how to enhance the quality of life for those with Alzheimer's.

President Reagan believed in the courage and capacity of the American people to overcome any obstacle, and my Administration remains committed to funding medical research programs to find a cure for Alzheimer's disease and improving care for Alzheimer's patients and increasing support for their families. The National Institutes of Health plans to spend $680 million in Alzheimer's research in 2004 and an estimated $699 million in 2005, a 33 percent increase from 2001. The National Institutes of Health, along with the Department of Veterans Affairs, is testing drugs for prevention and treatment of Alzheimer's disease. This year, the National Institute on Aging launched the Alzheimer's Disease Neuroimaging Initiative, an innovative partnership with the private sector that is using the latest technologies to observe changes in the brains of individuals who are affected by Alzheimer's. This project is researching ways to enhance early diagnosis and further the development

of treatments. In addition, the Administration on Aging is working with States to improve home and community-based services for people with dementia and their families.

As we observe National Alzheimer's Disease Awareness Month, we recognize our citizens who are living with this disease and extend our gratitude to those who provide vital care and support. We also specially recognize the public and private scientists, researchers, nurses, and health care providers who are dedicated to finding new and better ways to help patients and ultimately find a cure for Alzheimer's disease. Their efforts bring comfort to many and offer hope for the future.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National Alzheimer's Disease Awareness Month. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Proclamation 7840—National American Indian Heritage Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As the first people to call our country home, American Indians and Alaska Natives have a noble history in this land and have long shaped our Nation. During National American Indian Heritage Month, we celebrate our commitment to respect and preserve the rich Native American traditions and cultures.

The enduring experiences of tribal communities are a cherished part of our national story. In September, I was proud to meet with tribal leaders and celebrate the opening of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. This new facility stands as a powerful symbol of the pride and vitality of our Native Peoples. The museum showcases masterworks of great cultural, historical, and spiritual significance. Through exhibits documenting past and present achievements and hopes for the future, it will introduce generations of visitors to the strong and living traditions of Native Americans. As a center for scholarship and learning, the National Museum of the American Indian will also advance understanding of the diversity that makes our Nation great.

My Administration is committed to helping Native Americans as they build on their proud legacy. With the funding of my 2005 budget, we will have provided the Bureau of Indian Affairs with more than $1.1 billion for school construction and repairs during the past 4 years. To improve education for American Indian and Alaska Native children, I signed an executive order establishing an Interagency Working Group to help students meet the standards set by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 in a manner that is consistent with tribal traditions, languages, and cultures. By setting standards for academic achievement and cultural learning, Americans in all communities can help their children realize a brighter future. I also signed an executive memorandum to all Federal agencies affirming the Federal Government's continuing commitment to recognize tribal sovereignty and self-determination. As they have in the past, tribal governments will maintain jurisdiction over their lands, systems of self-governance, and government-to-government relationships with the United States.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National American Indian Heritage

Month. I encourage all Americans to commemorate this month with appropriate programs and activities and to learn more about the rich heritage of American Indians and Alaska Natives.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Proclamation 7841—National Diabetes Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

More than 18 million Americans are estimated to have diabetes. Diabetes is the leading cause of new blindness, end-stage kidney disease, and nontraumatic amputations. It can also double a person's risk of heart attack and stroke and can cause nervous system damage and premature death. During National Diabetes Month, we seek to raise awareness of the impact of diabetes on our citizens, and we recognize those committed to improving the treatment and prevention of this chronic disease.

Approximately one million Americans have been diagnosed with type 1 diabetes, once known as juvenile diabetes. It develops from autoimmune, genetic, and environmental influences, most often striking children, adolescents, and young adults. By developing the disease so young, people with type 1 diabetes have a greater risk for serious complications. Type 2 diabetes affects approximately 17 million Americans, and is most common in people over 40 who are overweight, inactive, or have a family history of this disease. While people of all backgrounds are affected, type 2 diabetes disproportionately strikes African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. The number of Americans with type 2 diabetes has grown dramatically, and many more Americans are at high risk for developing it.

My Administration is committed to funding diabetes research. This year, the National Institutes of Health dedicated $993 million for diabetes research, and I have requested more that $1 billion for 2005, a 49 percent increase since 2001.

We are also working to raise awareness of the risk factors associated with diabetes. According to clinical research, people at risk for type 2 diabetes can reduce their risk by approximately 58 percent if they lose a modest amount of weight and stay physically active. Those who already live with diabetes can greatly reduce their risk for heart disease and stroke by controlling their blood sugar, blood pressure, and cholesterol.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National Diabetes Month. I call upon all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Proclamation 7842—National Family Caregivers Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Every day, family caregivers across our Nation are caring for loved ones who are aging, chronically ill, or disabled. Through their selfless actions, they bring comfort to those

in need, enrich their own lives, and reflect the true spirit of America.

America is a country of hope and promise that honors the dignity of all its citizens. Our family caregivers sometimes sacrifice their own emotional and physical needs to dedicate their time and energy to serving their loved ones. By taking on this enormous responsibility, they are helping honor life in all its seasons.

My Administration remains committed to supporting the important contributions of family caregivers. My fiscal year 2005 budget includes tax relief for Americans who need long-term care and individuals who care for these family members in their homes. We will also continue to work with employers, faith-based and community organizations, universities, and national aging organizations to bring critical services such as individual counseling, educational activities, respite care, and family leave policies to more Americans.

By bringing loving support to their loved ones, our Nation's family caregivers make our country a better place. During National Family Caregivers Month, we honor their generosity and dedication, and we recognize the vital role of family in the lives of our citizens.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National Family Caregivers Month. I encourage all Americans to honor and support the family members, friends, and neighbors who provide care to their loved ones in need.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Proclamation 7843—National Hospice Month, 2004

November 4, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Hospice programs are a vital part of our Nation's health care system. They provide comfort, peace, and dignity for individuals in the final stage of life and their families. During National Hospice Month, we recognize the dedicated professionals and volunteers who provide hospice care, and we emphasize the importance of respecting and honoring life in all of its seasons.

For many terminally ill patients, hospice care is a compassionate alternative to traditional care at a hospital or nursing home. Hospice physicians, nurses, counselors, and volunteers focus on making patients as comfortable as possible, while allowing patients to remain at home and close to their families. With comprehensive assistance, these caregivers help control pain and other symptoms and provide emotional and spiritual support to both patient and family. In 2002, according to the National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, an estimated 885,000 individuals were admitted to one of the over 3,000 hospice programs in the United States.

My Administration has acted to strengthen and modernize Medicare for our seniors, and we remain committed to providing a health care system that meets the needs of every patient. Hospice services are covered by Medicare, and many States offer hospice care under their Medicaid programs. The Medicare legislation that I signed into law last December provides that Medicare will, for the first time, cover hospice consultation services so that terminally ill patients and their families will better understand end-of-life issues and care options. The legislation also makes the program more flexible and responsive to the needs of patients, allows patients to designate a nurse practitioner to coordinate their hospice care, and directs the Secretary of Health and Human Services to explore ways to make hospice care more widely available to beneficiaries who live in rural areas.

Americans believe in the worth and dignity of every person, and we are promoting a culture of life in our Nation. By caring for life at every stage, we can create a more compassionate and merciful world.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2004 as National Hospice Month. I encourage all our citizens to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities. I also ask Americans to recognize our health care professionals and volunteers for their contributions to helping those facing terminal illness receive quality care.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:39 a.m., November 8, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 9.

Notice—Continuation of Emergency Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction

November 4, 2004

On November 14, 1994, by Executive Order 12938, President Clinton declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (weapons of mass destruction) and the means of delivering such weapons. On July 28, 1998, the President issued Executive Order 13094 to amend Executive Order 12938 to respond more effectively to the worldwide threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering such weapons. Because the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, the national emergency first declared on November 14, 1994, must continue in effect beyond November 14, 2004. In accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12938, as amended.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 4, 2004.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., November 5, 2004]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on November 8.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of Emergency Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction

November 4, 2004

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent to the *Federal Register* for publication the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems declared by Executive Order 12938 on November 14, 1994, as amended, is to continue in effect beyond November 14, 2004. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was signed on October 29, 2003, and published in the *Federal Register* on October 31, 2003 (68 FR 62209).

Because the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering

them continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, I have determined the national emergency previously declared must continue in effect beyond November 14, 2004.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard B. Cheney, President of the Senate. An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Global Deployments of United States Combat-Equipped Armed Forces

November 4, 2004

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am providing this consolidated supplemental report, prepared by my Administration and consistent with the War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93–148), as part of my efforts to keep the Congress informed about deployments of U.S. combat-equipped armed forces around the world. This supplemental report covers operations in support of the global war on terrorism, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On March 21, 2003, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, I reported that I had directed U.S. Armed Forces, operating with other coalition forces, to commence combat operations on March 19, 2003, against Iraq. Thereafter, I included information regarding the deployment of U.S. forces in Iraq in reports on Iraq to the Congress under Public Laws 107–243 and 102–1, as amended. On July 2, 2004, I delegated to the Secretary of State the authority to make these detailed reports on Iraq, but I am including information about the deployment of U.S. forces in Iraq in this consolidated war powers report.

The Global War on Terrorism

Since September 24, 2001, I have reported, consistent with Public Law 107–40 and the War Powers Resolution, on the combat operations in Afghanistan against al-Qaida terrorists and their Taliban supporters, which began on October 7, 2001, and the deployment of various combat-equipped and combat-support forces to a number of locations in the Central, Pacific, and Southern Command areas of operation in support of those operations and of other operations in our global war on terrorism.

I will direct additional measures as necessary in the exercise of the U.S. right to self-defense and to protect U.S. citizens and interests. Such measures may include short-notice deployments of special operations and other forces for sensitive operations in various locations throughout the world. It is not possible to know at this time either the precise duration of combat operations or the precise scope and duration of the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces necessary to counter the terrorist threat to the United States.

United States Armed Forces, with the assistance of numerous coalition partners, continue to conduct the U.S. campaign to pursue al-Qaida terrorists and to eliminate support to al-Qaida. These operations have seriously degraded al-Qaida's training capabilities. United States Armed Forces, with the assistance of numerous coalition partners, ended the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and are actively pursuing and engaging al-Qaida and remnant Taliban fighters. United States forces also have supported the International Security Assistance Force in providing security in connection with the Afghan elections.

The United States continues to detain several hundred al-Qaida and Taliban fighters who are believed to pose a continuing threat to the United States and its interests. The combat-equipped and combat-support forces deployed to Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in the U.S. Southern Command area of operations since January 2002, continue to conduct secure detention operations for enemy combatants at Guantanamo Bay.

The U.N. Security Council authorized a Multinational Force (MNF) in Iraq under unified command in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1511 of October 16, 2003, and reaffirmed its authorization in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1546 of June 8, 2004, noting the Iraqi Interim Government's request to retain the presence of the MNF. The mission of the MNF is to contribute to

security and stability in Iraq, including by assisting in building the capability of Iraqi security forces and institutions, as the Iraqi people plan democratic elections and as reconstruction continues. The U.S. contribution to the MNF is more than 135,000 military personnel.

In furtherance of our efforts against terrorists who pose a continuing and imminent threat to the United States, our friends and allies, and our forces abroad, the United States continues to work with friends and allies in areas around the world. U.S. combat-equipped and combat-support forces are located in the Horn of Africa region, and the U.S. forces headquarters element in Djibouti provides command and control support as necessary for military operations against al-Qaida and other international terrorists in the Horn of Africa region, including Yemen. These forces also assist in enhancing counterterrorism capabilities in Kenya, Ethiopia, Yemen, Eritrea, and Djibouti. In addition, the United States continues to conduct maritime interception operations on the high seas in the areas of responsibility of all of the geographic combatant commanders. These maritime operations have the responsibility to stop the movement, arming, or financing of international terrorists.

NATO-Led Kosovo Force (KFOR)

As noted in previous reports regarding U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in Kosovo, the U.N. Security Council authorized Member States to establish KFOR in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999. The mission of KFOR is to provide an international security presence in order to deter renewed hostilities; verify, and, if necessary, enforce the terms of the Military Technical Agreement between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (which is now Serbia and Montenegro); enforce the terms of the Undertaking on Demilitarization and Transformation of the former Kosovo Liberation Army; provide day-to-day operational direction to the Kosovo Protection Corps; and maintain a safe and secure environment to facilitate the work of the U.N. Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

Currently, there are 23 NATO nations contributing to KFOR. Eleven non-NATO contributing countries also participate by providing military personnel and other support personnel to KFOR. The U.S. contribution to KFOR in Kosovo is about 1,800 U.S. military personnel, or approximately 10 percent of KFOR's total strength of approximately 18,000 personnel. In addition, U.S. military personnel occasionally operate from Macedonia, Albania, and Greece in support of KFOR operations.

The U.S. forces have been assigned to a sector principally centered around Gnjilane in the eastern region of Kosovo. For U.S. KFOR forces, as for KFOR generally, maintaining a safe and secure environment remains the primary military task. The KFOR operates under NATO command and control and rules of engagement. The KFOR coordinates with and supports UNMIK at most levels; provides a security presence in towns, villages, and the countryside; and organizes checkpoints and patrols in key areas to provide security, protect minorities, resolve disputes, and help instill in the community a feeling of confidence.

In accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, the UNMIK continues to transfer additional competencies to the Kosovar Provisional Institutions of Self-Government, which includes the President, Prime Minister, multiple ministries, and the Kosovo Assembly. The UNMIK retains ultimate authority in some sensitive areas such as police, justice, and ethnic minority affairs.

NATO continues formally to review KFOR's mission at 6-month intervals. These reviews provide a basis for assessing current force levels, future requirements, force structure, force reductions, and the eventual withdrawal of KFOR. NATO has adopted the Joint Operations Area plan to regionalize and rationalize its force structure in the Balkans. The UNMIK international police and the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) have full responsibility for public safety and policing throughout Kosovo except in the area of Mitrovica, where the KFOR and UNMIK share this responsibility due to security concerns. The UNMIK international police and KPS also have begun to assume responsibility for guarding patrimonial sites and established

border-crossing checkpoints. The KFOR often augments security in particularly sensitive areas or in response to particular threats.

NATO-Led Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR)

Regarding U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the U.N. Security Council authorized, in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1551 of July 9, 2004, Member States to continue SFOR for an additional period of 6 months in anticipation of the conclusion of SFOR's operations, and the commencement of a European Union (EU) mission, including a military component, in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the end of 2004. The mission of SFOR is to provide a deterrent presence to help stabilize and consolidate the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, contribute to a secure environment, and perform key supporting tasks including support to the international civil presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The U.S. force contribution to SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina is approximately 1,000 personnel. United States personnel comprise approximately 12 percent of the approximately 8,500 personnel assigned to SFOR. Currently, 20 NATO nations and 8 others provide military personnel or other support to SFOR. Most U.S. forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina are assigned to Multinational Task Force, North, headquartered near the city of Tuzla. United States forces continue to support SFOR efforts to apprehend persons indicted for war crimes and to conduct counterterrorism operations.

In June 2004 at the Istanbul Summit, NATO Heads of State and Government welcomed the offer of the EU to establish a new and separate mission in Bosnia, including a military component, and decided to establish a new NATO Headquarters in Sarajevo at the end of SFOR's operations. This NATO Headquarters, to which U.S. forces will be assigned, will have the principal task of providing advice on defense reform. The NATO headquarters also will undertake certain supporting operational tasks, including counterterrorism and supporting the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia with regard to the detention of persons indicted for war crimes.

I have directed the participation of U.S. Armed Forces in all of these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. Officials of my Administration and I communicate regularly with the leadership and other Members of Congress with regard to these deployments, and we will continue to do so.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Ted Stevens, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

October 30

In the morning, in Columbus, OH, the President had an intelligence briefing. He and Mrs. Bush then traveled to Grand Rapids, MI, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Judy Hunt.

Later in the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Ashwaubenon, WI. While en route, in Green Bay, WI, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Lila Cody.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Minneapolis, MN, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Maya Babu.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Orlando, FL, arriving in the evening.

October 31

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. He and Mrs. Bush then traveled to Miami, FL, where, upon arrival, he

met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Eric Vaz.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Tampa, FL. They then traveled to Gainesville, FL, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Dr. Larry Smith.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Cincinnati, OH, where, upon arrival in the evening, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Sue Stuempel.

November 1

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. He and Mrs. Bush then traveled to Wilmington, OH.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Pittsburgh, PA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Joan Roth. He then traveled to Burgettstown, PA. Later, he traveled to Milwaukee, WI, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Cory Helland.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Des Moines, IA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Brittany Overstreet. Later, he traveled to Sioux City, IA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Terri Ross.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush, who joined him in Iowa, traveled to Albuquerque, NM, where, upon arrival in the evening, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Jade Wright.

Later in the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Dallas, TX. Later, they traveled to the Bush Ranch in Crawford, TX.

November 2

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Crawford Fire Station to vote. Later, they traveled to Columbus, OH.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC, where, upon arrival on the South Lawn, they were greeted by White House staff.

During the day, the President monitored election results.

November 3

In the morning, in the Oval Office, the President had separate telephone conversations with Representative Richard Burr, David Vitter, and Mel R. Martinez to congratulate them on their election victories in the North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida Senate races, respectively.

Later in the morning, in the Oval Office, the President had intelligence and FBI briefings. He then had separate telephone conversations with former Representative John Thune, Representative Jim DeMint, Senator Jim Bunning, and former Representative Tom Coburn to congratulate them on their election victories in the South Dakota, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Oklahoma Senate races, respectively.

Later in the morning, in the Oval Office, the President received a telephone call from Democratic Presidential candidate John Kerry in which Senator Kerry conceded the November 2 election. During the call, the President expressed his appreciation for Senator Kerry's efforts in the campaign.

November 4

In the morning, the President had a telephone conversation with President Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan of the United Arab Emirates to express his condolences on the death of his father, former President Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan. He then had a telephone conversation with President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan to congratulate him on his October 9 election victory.

Later in the morning, the President had separate telephone conversations with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel, President Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government, President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland, President Vladimir Putin of Russia, and Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy, all of whom congratulated the President on his reelection victory. He then had an intelligence briefing.

In the afternoon, on the State Floor, the President met with campaign staff to thank them for their efforts during the campaign. He then traveled to Camp David, MD.

The President announced the November 3 recess appointments of Carolyn L. Gallagher and Louis J. Giuliano as Governors on the Board of Governors of the U.S. Postal Service.

November 5

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released October 30

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing that the President signed H.J. Res. 57, H.R. 712, H.R. 867, H.R. 2010, H.R. 2023, H.R. 2400, H.R. 2984, H.R. 3056, H.R. 3217, H.R. 3391, H.R. 3478, H.R. 3479, H.R. 3706, H.R. 3797, H.R. 3819, H.R. 4046, H.R. 4066, H.R. 4306, H.R. 4381, H.R. 4471, H.R. 4481, H.R. 4556, H.R. 4579, H.R. 4618, H.R. 4632, H.R. 4731, H.R. 4827, H.R. 4917, H.R. 5027, H.R. 5039, H.R. 5051, H.R. 5107, H.R. 5131, H.R. 5133, H.R. 5147, H.R. 5186, H.R. 5294, S. 129, S. 144, S. 643, and S. 1194

Released November 3

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Released November 5

Statement by the Press Secretary on the President's conversation with Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands, in his capacity as President of the European Council

Acts Approved by the President

Approved October 25 *

H.R. 2714 / Public Law 108–372
State Justice Institute Reauthorization Act of 2004

Approved October 27 *

S. 1134 / Public Law 108–373
Economic Development Administration Reauthorization Act of 2004

S. 1721 / Public Law 108–374
American Indian Probate Reform Act of 2004

Approved October 28 *

H.R. 4200 / Public Law 108–375
Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005

Approved October 30

H.R. 2010 / Public Law 108–376
To protect the voting rights of members of the Armed Services in elections for the Delegate representing American Samoa in the United States House of Representatives, and for other purposes

H.R. 2023 / Public Law 108–377
Asthmatic Schoolchildren's Treatment and Health Management Act of 2004

H.R. 2400 / Public Law 108–378
To amend the Organic Act of Guam for the purposes of clarifying the local judicial structure of Guam

H.R. 2984 / Public Law 108–379
To amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act to remove the requirement that processors be members of an agency administering a marketing order applicable to pears

H.R. 3056 / Public Law 108–380
To clarify the boundaries of the John H. Chafee Coast Barrier Resources System

* These Public Laws were not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue

Cedar Keys Unit P25 on Otherwise Protected Area P25P

H.R. 3217 / Public Law 108–381
To provide for the conveyance of several small parcels of National Forest System land in the Apalachicola National Forest, Florida, to resolve boundary discrepancies involving the Mt. Trial Primitive Baptist Church of Wakulla County, Florida, and for other purposes

H.R. 3391 / Public Law 108–382
Provo River Project Transfer Act

H.R. 3478 / Public Law 108–383
National Archives and Records Administration Efficiency Act of 2004

H.R. 3479 / Public Law 108–384
Brown Tree Snake Control and Eradication Act of 2004

H.R. 3706 / Public Law 108–385
John Muir National Historic Site Boundary Adjustment Act

H.R. 3797 / Public Law 108–386
2004 District of Columbia Omnibus Authorization Act

H.R. 3819 / Public Law 108–387
To redesignate Fort Clatsop National Memorial as the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, to include in the park sites in the State of Washington as well as the State of Oregon, and for other purposes

H.R. 4046 / Public Law 108–388
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 555 West 180th Street in New York, New York, as the "Sergeant Riayan A. Tejeda Post Office"

H.R. 4066 / Public Law 108–389
Chickasaw National Recreation Area Land Exchange Act of 2004

H.R. 4306 / Public Law 108–390
To amend section 274A of the Immigration and Nationality Act to improve the process for verifying an individual's eligibility for employment

H.J. Res. 57 / Public Law 108–391
Expressing the sense of the Congress in recognition of the contributions of the seven Columbia astronauts by supporting establishment of a Columbia Memorial Space Science Learning Center

H.R. 4381 / Public Law 108–392
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 2811 Springdale Avenue in Springdale, Arkansas, as the "Harvey and Bernice Jones Post Office Building"

H.R. 4471 / Public Law 108–393
Homeownership Opportunities for Native Americans Act of 2004

H.R. 4481 / Public Law 108–394
Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Boundary Adjustment Act of 2004

H.R. 4556 / Public Law 108–395
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1115 South Clinton Avenue in Dunn, North Carolina, as the "General William Carey Lee Post Office Building"

H.R. 4579 / Public Law 108–396
Truman Farm Home Expansion Act

H.R. 4618 / Public Law 108–397
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 10 West Prospect Street in Nanuet, New York, as the "Anthony I. Lombardi Memorial Post Office Building"

H.R. 4632 / Public Law 108–398
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 19504 Linden Boulevard in St. Albans, New York, as the "Archie Spigner Post Office Building"

H.R. 4731 / Public Law 108–399
To amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to reauthorize the National Estuary Program

H.R. 4827 / Public Law 108–400
To amend the Colorado Canyons National Conservation Area and Black Ridge Canyons Wilderness Act of 2000 to rename the Colorado Canyons National Conservation Area as the McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area

H.R. 4917 / Public Law 108–401
Federal Regulatory Improvement Act of 2004

H.R. 5027 / Public Law 108–402
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 411 Midway Avenue in Mascotte, Florida, as the "Specialist Eric Ramirez Post Office"

H.R. 5039 / Public Law 108–403
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at United States Route 1 in Ridgeway, North Carolina, as the "Eva Holtzman Post Office"

H.R. 5051 / Public Law 108–404
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1001 Williams Street in Ignacio, Colorado, as the "Leonard C. Burch Post Office Building"

H.R. 5107 / Public Law 108–405
Justice for All Act of 2004

H.R. 5131 / Public Law 108–406
Special Olympics Sport and Empowerment Act of 2004

H.R. 5133 / Public Law 108–407
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 11110 Sunset Hills Road in Reston, Virginia, as the "Martha Pennino Post Office Building"

H.R. 5147 / Public Law 108–408
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 23055 Sherman Way in West Hills, California, as the "Evan Asa Ashcraft Post Office Building"

H.R. 5186 / Public Law 108–409
Taxpayer-Teacher Protection Act of 2004

H.R. 5294 / Public Law 108–410
John F. Kennedy Center Reauthorization Act of 2004

S. 129 / Public Law 108–411
Federal Workforce Flexibility Act of 2004

S. 144 / Public Law 108–412
To require the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a program to provide assistance to eligible weed management entities to control or eradicate noxious weeds on public and private land

S. 643 / Public Law 108–413
Hibben Center Act

S. 1194 / Public Law 108–414
Mentally Ill Offender Treatment and Crime Reduction Act of 2004

H.R. 712 / Private Law 108–3
For the relief of Richi James Lesley

H.R. 867 / Private Law 108–4
For the relief of Durreshahwar Durreshahwar, Nida Hasan, Asna Hasan, Anum Hasan, and Iqra Hasan

Notices

Continuation of Emergency Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction—2799
Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Sudan—2773

Proclamations

National Adoption Month—2795
National Alzheimer's Disease Awareness Month—2795
National American Indian Heritage Month—2796
National Diabetes Month—2797
National Family Caregivers Month—2797
National Hospice Month—2798

Statements by the President

See also Bill Signings
Afghanistan, congratulating President Karzai on his election—2794
United Arab Emirates, death of Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan—2794

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—2804
Checklist of White House press releases—2804
Digest of other White House announcements—2802
Nominations submitted to the Senate—2804

US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS
Washington DC 20402

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
Penalty for private use, $300

PRESORTED STANDARD
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
GPO
PERMIT NO. G-26

**********ALL FOR STATE MI

A PD KOERN346M DEC 04 R
MARY KOERNKE
PRO QUEST I&L
PO BOX 1346
ANN ARBOR MI 48106